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the progressive newsweekly

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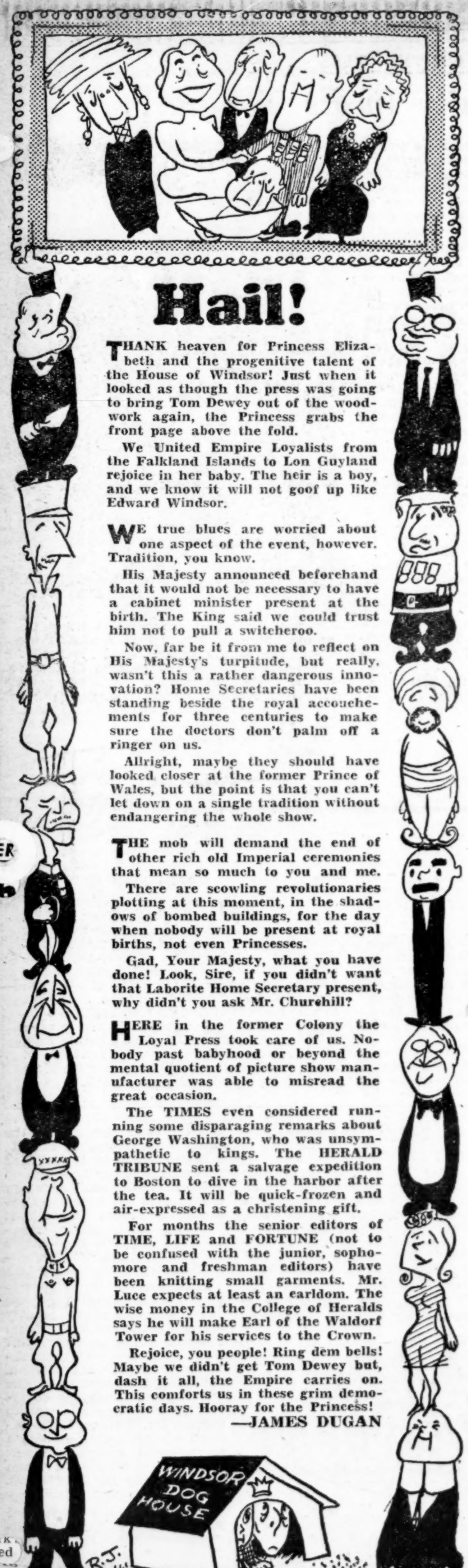


Hail!

THANK heaven for Princess Elizabeth and the progenitive talent of the House of Windsor! Just when it looked as though the press was going to bring Tom Dewey out of the woodwork again, the Princess grabs the front page above the fold.

We United Empire Loyalists from the Falkland Islands to Lon Guyland rejoice in her baby. The heir is a boy, and we know it will not goof up like Edward Windsor.

WE true blues are worried about one aspect of the event, however. Tradition, you know.

His Majesty announced beforehand that it would not be necessary to have a cabinet minister present at the birth. The King said we could trust him not to pull a switcheroo.

Now, far be it from me to reflect on His Majesty's turpitude, but really, wasn't this a rather dangerous innovation? Home Secretaries have been standing beside the royal accouchements for three centuries to make sure the doctors don't palm off a ringer on us.

Allright, maybe they should have looked closer at the former Prince of Wales, but the point is that you can't let down on a single tradition without endangering the whole show.

THE mob will demand the end of other rich old Imperial ceremonies that mean so much to you and me.

There are scowling revolutionaries plotting at this moment, in the shadows of bombed buildings, for the day when nobody will be present at royal births, not even Princesses.

Gad, Your Majesty, what you have done! Look, Sire, if you didn't want that Laborite Home Secretary present, why didn't you ask Mr. Churchill?

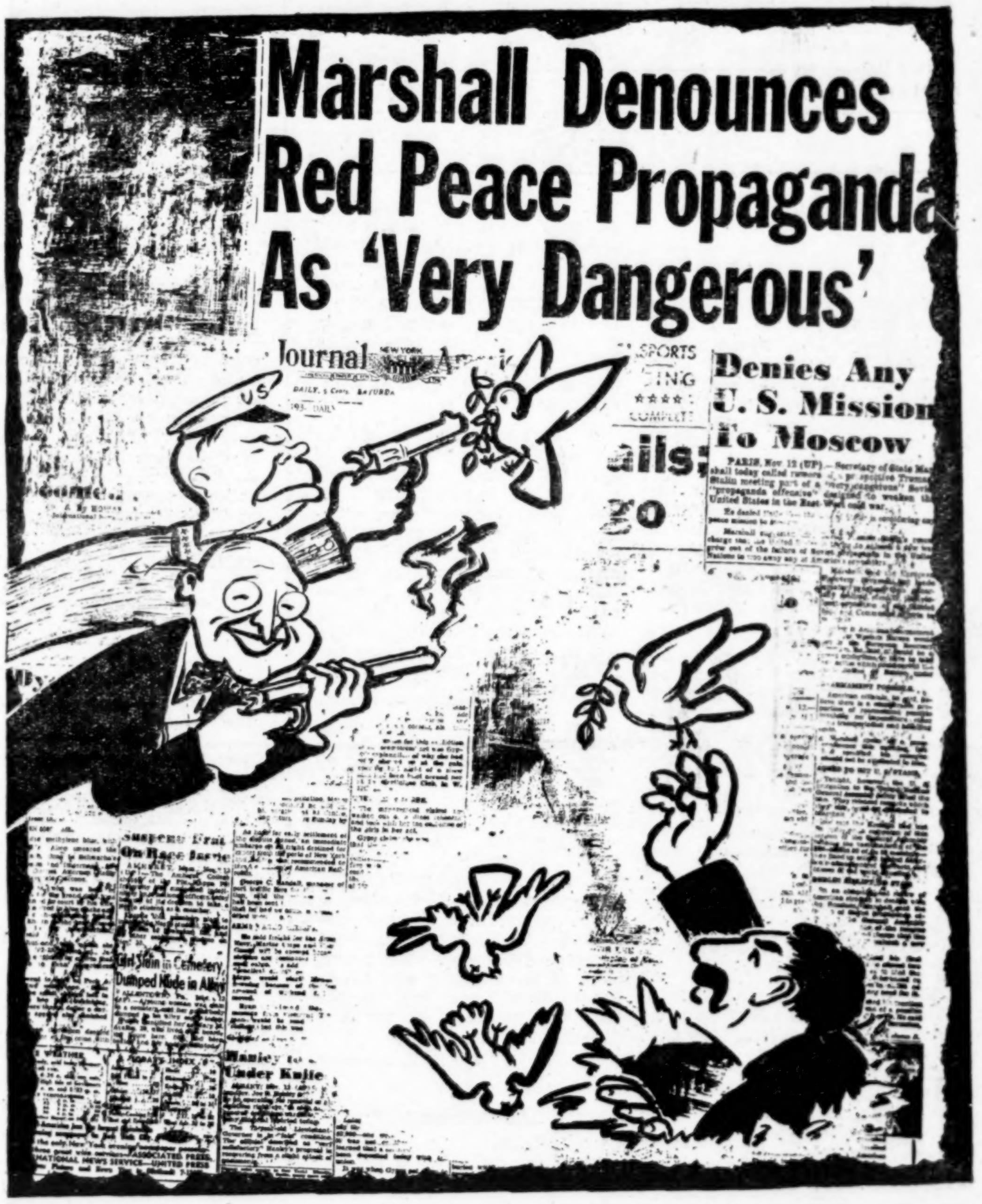
HERE in the former Colony the Loyal Press took care of us. Nobody past babyhood or beyond the mental quotient of picture show manufacturer was able to misread the great occasion.

The TIMES even considered running some disparaging remarks about George Washington, who was unsympathetic to kings. The HERALD TRIBUNE sent a salvage expedition to Boston to dive in the harbor after the tea. It will be quick-frozen and air-expressed as a christening gift.

For months the senior editors of TIME, LIFE and FORTUNE (not to be confused with the junior, sophomore and freshman editors) have been knitting small garments. Mr. Luce expects at least an earldom. The wise money in the College of Heralds says he will make Earl of the Waldorf Tower for his services to the Crown.

Rejoice, you people! Ring dem bells! Maybe we didn't get Tom Dewey but, dash it all, the Empire carries on. This comforts us in these grim democratic days. Hooray for the Princess!

—JAMES DUGAN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Denies Any U.S. Mission To Moscow

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NATIONAL GUARDIAN
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LETTERS

The Grave-Diggers

NEW YORK, N. Y.

An editorial in the N. Y. **Times** on Nov. 4 said in part: "Now Mr. Wallace is fallen from his high estate. If a third party is again to emerge in this country 2 or 4 years from now, it will not be led by Mr. Wallace. If he sincerely thought he had a cause he has now destroyed this cause. That is his tragedy."

In giving out with these funereal and analytical burial words, the **Times** apparently is forgetful of the pollsters and its own campaign predictions which had a somewhat tragic ending in their own right.

Blind to the real issues after Election Day just as before, no editorial in the **Times** makes reference to the large number of the Illinois electorate deprived of the right to a place on the ballot. No post-election analysis is made of the sweeping out of the Republicans from the Congress and governorships. Mr. Wallace will give them another chance in the future to explain their error.

B. L. Tokayer

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Any Suggestions?

MALDEN, MASS.

The French have an institution we ought to adopt in this country—the **Academie Francaise**, which consists of forty old geezers known as the Forty Immortals. They are rejected politicians, fossilized writers, obsolete military men, and unredeemable professors.

The French Academy has one project, compiling a dictionary of the French language, which it has been working on for 315 years. Why don't we have an American Academy? We have a lot of bodies laying around in the wake of the election who should be decently interred in the scholastic cloister and stop boring the bejazus out of us in the papers.

A start has been made by an outfit called the Council of Social Research, which is beginning an inquest into what went wrong with the pre-election public opinion polls. This would be a peachy project for an American Academy. Now, how about the Forty Immortals? The distinguished only living ex-President should lead the list, closely followed by the notable near-President, the Hon. Tom Dewey.

One of the nicest rules about the proposed American Academy is that once a man is elected he cannot make statements to the press on any other topic than what went wrong with the polls. This is a dignified group, bear in mind. Winchell is too noisy. Very few younger men should be elected, unless they have already assumed the boring magisterial presence that goes with years, such as have Dewey and Lindbergh. Would your readers like to make nominations for the American Academy?

R. Z. Scudder

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Definitions

CHICAGO, ILL.

With regard to your article, "Common Sense About Words," published in the Nov. 8 issue, may I suggest inclusion of the three following definitions (American colloquial) in G. B. Shaw's political dictionary:

Communist: Anyone who leans slightly to the left of myself.

Fascist: One of a few bad men who stopped making headlines since the end of World War II.

Liberal: ME.

Gladys Nelson

500,000 Readers

LOS ANGELES

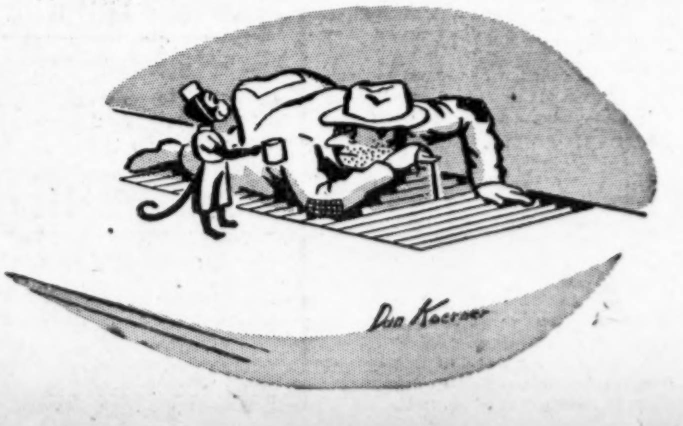
The birth of a progressive newsweekly is indeed a blessed event. There must be a few million persons in the U.S. who, like myself, distrust the news-weeklies already in the field. Of these I hope you will in time get at least half a million subscribers.

For ten years I have been a subscriber to **Time Magazine**. But dating, I think, from the presidential campaign of 1944 I have known that sprinkled throughout Henry Luce's tasty **looking** dish are deadly amounts of poisonous propaganda. Nowadays I sample it with intense suspicion, mentally spitting out the smears and sneers, the smoothly worded deceptions.

Then there is **The New Republic**, from which I clipped your advertisement. Shortly before the Democratic national convention last summer, this publication featured a devastating analysis of Truman. Following his nomination, the only logical, consistent course for the **New Republic** was to support Mr. Wallace. When instead of doing that, it turned an editorial backsummersault this fall by rooting for Truman and attacking the Progressive, it lost my respect entirely.

So—I joined the Progressive Party, the IPP here in California, voted for Wallace and Taylor, and herewith enclose postal note for $4.00 for a year of NATIONAL GUARDIAN.

Ralph M. Crow



Common Sense About Goebbels

To the Alien Property Custodian
Washington 25, D.C.

As receiver of enemy property in this country, are you aware that large literary royalties are being withheld from the U.S. Government in respect to the estate of Herr Josef Paul Goebbels, late Propaganda Minister of the German Reich? We call to your attention the fact that one of Goebbels' most famous literary creations is being pirated every day, without proper royalty payments to the Treasury. This is the phrase "Iron Curtain" which Goebbels coined on Feb. 24, 1945, in his weekly article about "London and New York Jews" in the "Voelkischer Beobachter."—Quote:

> *"If the German people should lay down their arms, the agreement between Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin would allow the Soviets to occupy all eastern and southern Europe, together with a major part of the Reich. An iron curtain woud at once descend on the territory. . . ."*

The first unauthorized use of this literary creation, copyright of which is now vested with your office, was by Winston Churchill, and has been followed by innumerable unauthorized uses without payment of royalty, including use as the title of a motion picture, in book titles, dozens of magazine articles, and in public addresses in which a fee is paid to the speaker. GUARDIAN calls this matter to your attention in the public interest and suggests that your legal staff prepare actions against the copyright violators, so that the Treasury will not be denied the vast sums which will accrue in royalties.

The Editors

DON C. HOLLENBECK ON THE PRESS

'. . . Iniquity In Its Tongue . . .'

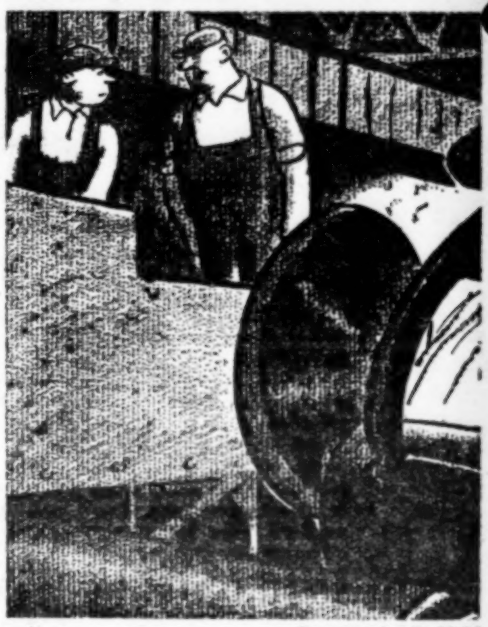
Don Hollenbeck, who has become a sort of watchdog of the American newspaper industry with his weekly radio program, CBS Views the Press (WCBS, Saturdays, 6:15 p.m.) last week undertook to review the role of the nation's newspapers in the recent elections. Excerpts from his broadcast follow:

IT could be that the best thing that ever happened to the American press was what **Time** magazine (including itself in the indictment) has called its appalling election performance, the magazine taking for its text an appropriate quotation from the Book of Job: *Is there iniquity in my tongue? Cannot my taste discern perverse things? . . . Teach me, and I will hold my tongue: and cause me to understand wherein I have erred. . . .* But reflection and observation in the few weeks that have passed since the election give cause for wonder if the American press has learned anything from its lesson beyond the simple fact that it was monstrously wrong. . . .

A few newspapermen around the country have learned wherein they erred and why, but not many. Notable among them is James Reston of the New York **Times**, one of the country's top reporters who, on the day after the election, wrote a letter to his editor. . . . He concludes his letter by saying: "The great intangible of this election was the political influence of the Roosevelt era on the thinking of the nation . . . and we didn't give enough weight to it. Consequently, we were wrong, not only on the election, but, what's worse, on the whole political direction of our time."

ONE of the indications that the press as a whole hasn't read the lesson well is in the post-election reflections by **Editor and Publisher**, the trade paper of journalism; it has presumably been speaking for editors and publishers for 60 years. . . . In its editorial musings on the big upset, the magazine . . . says (that) since we do not have a national press, since newspapers wield their influence locally rather than nationally, and since Presidents are elected by the total vote of the states instead of by a national vote, the newspapers were right locally after all and, in the concluding words of the editorial, "From these comparisons, it may be seen that any criticism of the daily newspapers on a national basis because of the election results is unfounded."

This would seem to establish a new high point in casuistry, and it might seem comic except that it reflects all too clearly the fact that while the newspapers of the country may individually confess themselves to have been made monkeys of by the voters, the basic thinking of American journalism hasn't changed much.


Drawing by Redfield

"On that Nov. 2, 1952, Page One—kill that head reading, DEWEY REELECTED."

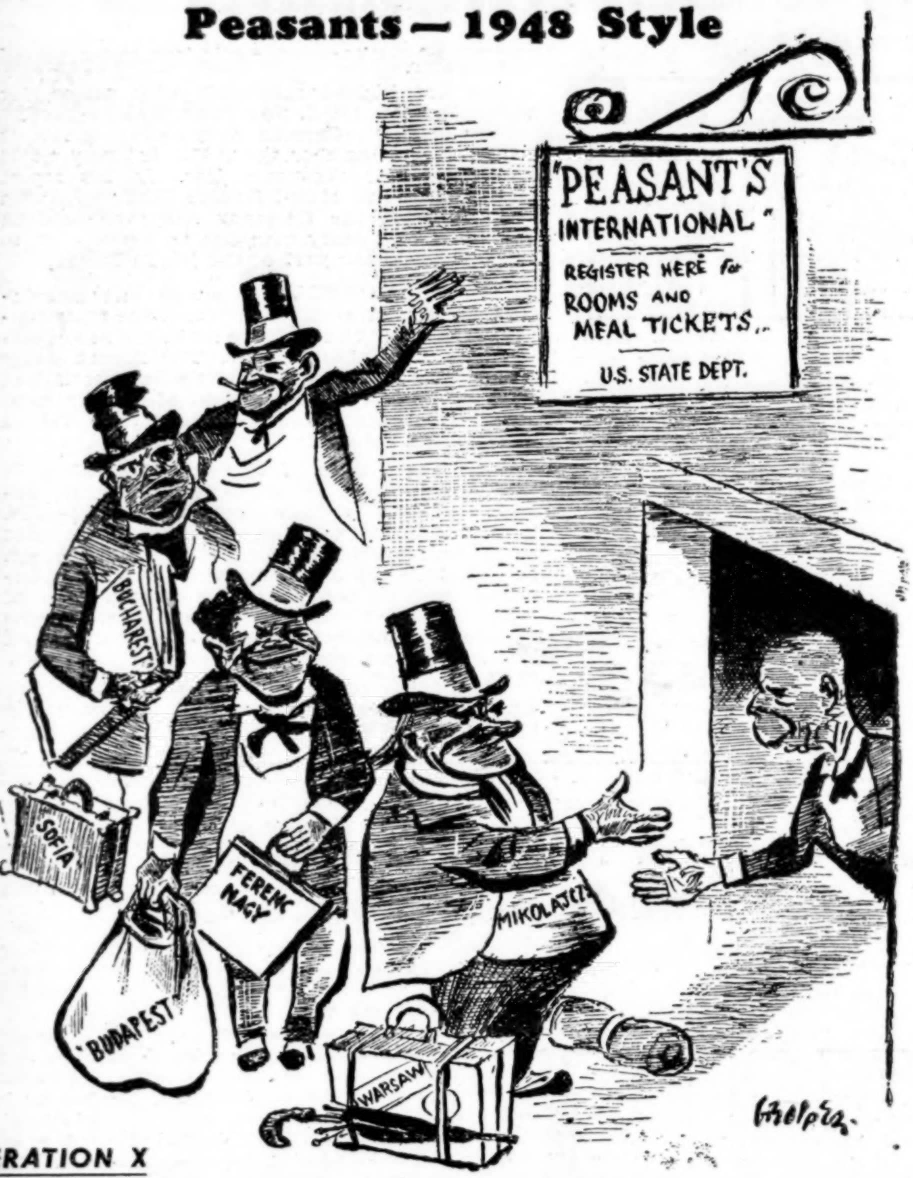
PART of these reflections and observations are based on a visit by this reporter to Chicago this week: the occasion being the annual meeting of the **Associated Press** managing editors association. . . . One of the sessions was turned over to discussion of the election coverage. . . . At one point late in the talk, a young managing editor from the Southwest made an interesting point. He had been misled like all the rest, but he said that early on election night, he got a comment from an employee: not an editorial writer or a reporter or a political expert on his newspaper.

The comment was made to him by the night watchman, and it took the form of an accurate prediction as to what was happening. The watchman said, "You know, the trouble with you newspapermen is that you talk to the wrong people; if you'd get out and around the right places enough, you'd know what was going on."

As it is now, on the basis of its election performance, the American press in the larger view stands convicted of what the Book of Job calls iniquity in its tongue, with taste unable to discern perverse things. It stands now neither as the leader of public opinion nor as follower; it couldn't influence the people to vote the way it thought they ought to vote, and it couldn't find out what the people were thinking, even though, as James Reston says, all the facts and factors were available to it all the time. It kept looking into the faces of the people and seeing only itself.

THE WORLD

Peasants — 1948 Style



WEEK'S ROUNDUP

Dream of Peace

ELEVEN days after his triumph, President Truman gave notice to the little people that, so far as he was concerned, they could just go on dreaming about peace.

In his balmy retreat at Key West, Truman applauded Marshall's record as Secretary of State, scoffed at Stalin's desire for peace talks, and refused to discuss a settlement of the Berlin dispute until Russia ate humble pie by lifting the blockade. As a clincher he revived one of Dewey's favorite corpses, appointing John Foster Dulles as acting chief of the American U. N. delegation.

While scuttling the hope of a foreign-policy New Deal, he talked New Deal on his domestic plans. "Which," as Euclid used to say, "is absurd."

Banker James P. Warburg, in a speech at Minneapolis deploring U. S. expenditure of $15,000,000,000 on rearmament and only $6,000,000,000 on recovery, seemed to agree with Euclid. "The best thing we could do for ourselves and for the world," he said, "would be to reverse the amounts we are betting on each."

DOGGED EVATT. The peoples of the world continued to plan for peace as best they could, because the alternative was unthinkable and because events were shooting more and more holes in the Marshall-Truman-Dulles policy. A pleasant note of sanity was the British announcement of a $13,000,000 program to convert the bomb-shattered south bank of the Thames river into a huge exhibition of peaceful achievements, which will open in 1951.

Herbert V. Evatt of Australia (U. N. General Assembly president), who has come forward as spokesman for small nations, was still determined that the Berlin deadlock should be broken; or if not, to show who was responsible.

With U. N. Secretary-General Trygve Lie he pointed out that all Big Four powers said they were for peace and compromise. He knew a compromise could be found if the will was there.

Back-row U. N. delegates quietly cheered. Marshall could hardly say—as he did of Stalin—that Evatt was conducting a "purely propaganda peace offensive." Small fry in Paris speculated on the possibility that the U. S. drive to brand Russia an aggressor might backfire. If agreement were reached on Berlin in spite of all the U. S. fire-eating, the whole basis for rearmament might collapse.

Continued in wide column on next page.

OPERATION X

The U.S. Cloak-and-Dagger Boys Nosily Invade Eastern Europe

By CEDRIC BELFRAGE

IN Bucharest this month, 11 prominent Rumanians confessed participation in a fifth-column plot sponsored by the U.S. Military Attache, Col. John Lowell. They said they had been working with U.S. officials for an insurrection.

- Last July, Czechoslovak authorities rounded up 71 persons who said an American Counter Intelligence Corps agent had drawn them into a plot to murder Czech government leaders.
- The Yugoslav News Agency reported in July that spies, trained in Italy and the U.S. Zone of Austria and briefed by "Vatican agents," were entering Yugoslavia, where 94 foreign-sponsored spies and terrorists were already under indictment.
- Landing in the U.S. in October, Dimitri Karaghiosov, former Bulgarian Vice-Consul in Istanbul, denied Turkish reports that he had rifled secret papers and codes before leaving his consulate. "I am here to rest and relax," he said, walking away with the U.S. Army officer who met him at the boat.
- In October a certain Constantin W. Boldyreff, in a press conference at New York's Shelton Hotel sponsored by the anti-Communist organization Common Cause Inc., described himself as a leader of Natsionalno Trudovoy Soyuz, an underground group in Russia claiming to have assassinated "several hundred Stalinists" since 1934. Common Cause, Inc., described Boldyreff as "vouched for by high American officials."
- Speaking on the Prague Radio on Oct. 30, commentator Komenda described the "whispering propaganda" cloud over Czechoslovakia—lies disseminated by foreign radio stations or by people who "move about the country, sent here on a mission or bought by foreign money."
- Last week Victor Csornoky, Hungarian diplomat formerly stationed in Washington, pleaded guilty in Budapest to spying, smuggling and passport forgery for the Anglo-Americans.

NO HOLDS BARRED. These are just a few of the recent Phillips - Oppenheimish reports from eastern Europe. Taken together with a sensational Shanghai report last month over the Chinese Communist radio, they indicate a web of underground subversive activity spun and maintained by the U.S. all around and over the Soviet borders: not merely espionage, but rumor factories, "black" propaganda, gun- and explosive-running, provocation, sabotage and murder.

In short, the same sort of thing that was conducted in these and other countries in war-time, except for one important difference: the populations cannot now be looked to for support, and native conspirators must be bought with money.

How much of these reports is true? The denials, of course, are mere comic relief. Generally one can only speculate about these fantastic goings-on on the basis of probabilities.

The remarkable thing this time is that those accused of all the skullduggery admitted most of it before they started denying it. They as good as announced it to the world before it began.

U.S. cloak and dagger operators are very new in the game. They are the despair of their British colleagues, who must perforce work with them, because they can't get it in their heads that a secret service should be secret.

OPERATION. Summing up a year of intelligence "fiascos" this summer, columnist Hanson Baldwin of the N.Y. **Times** described "young and exuberant intelligence officers . . . making contacts almost openly with anti-Communist leaders in Rumania" and "to impress their superiors," keeping written records of their subversive discussions.

While the most primitive security measures were thus ignored, and conspirators working with the Americans were being arrested in bushel lots as a result, John Foster Dulles was choosing the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York, to expound publicly the super-subversive enterprise since dubbed "Operation X." Addressing the Bond Club there in May, Dulles called for a "non-military defense organization" in Europe headed by a special Cabinet officer, which would be in effect a branch of ECA and for which ECA receiving nations should be called upon to pay.

The plan was taken up by Washington in its essentials; Dulles' brother Allen, who negotiated with Germans from Switzerland as OSS chief during the war, was sent to Europe to organize it; and "Operation X" received plenty of publicity all along the way. **U.S. News,** which speaks for big business with the greatest frankness, ran a long piece about the plan, under which "strong-arm squads would be formed under American guidance" and "assassination of key Communists would be encouraged."

SUSPICIOUS. Hardly a day passes now without its new sensation from eastern Europe—some story of violence attempted or carried out. Last week front pages buzzed with the murder of ECA aide Irving Ross in the Soviet Zone of Austria, where he went without permission to "sift Soviet acts."

In view of past U.S. announcements, nobody can blame the east European countries for being suspicious of all Americans in whatsoever guise. These countries denounce the U.N. Balkan investigating committee as "consisting almost entirely of British and American intelligence officers," who "ride all over Greece in autos with U.N. insignia collecting secret information." They regard the Institute of Slavic Studies, a "private institution" formed in the U.S. last spring, as "a new intelligence agency." They call the "International Peasant Union," formed by eastern European political refugees and recognized by U.S. authorities, "a rally of fascist spies and professional agents-provocateurs."

The eastern European countries have, in fact, concluded that all western-sponsored organizations of "peasants" and "displaced persons" are spying and terrorist outfits geared into Operation X.

If that is in fact what they are, they would be more effective if U.S. intelligence could manage to control its love of publicity.

THE WORLD

MAX WERNER: Who's Going to Supply the Soldiers?

FIELD Marshal Montgomery and Secretary Forrestal have just completed their European tours, during which they took inventory of the military forces and studied strategic needs. They found only a few scattered divisions in Western Europe.

The North Atlantic alliance they are preparing must now solve a simple yet most difficult question: who will supply the soldiers?

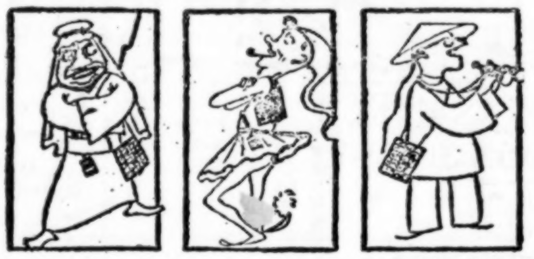
Western strategy is still a big question mark. These is still no agreement between Washington, London and Paris on what they need, and who is to deliver it.

It has been reported that as a result of Field Marshal Montgomery's inspection tour some tentative arrangements have been made. France is to participate in the West European force with some ten, and Great Britain with five to six divisions. Belgium will raise four, and Holland will not contribute any share of the land forces.

The share of France and Great Britain is only **one tenth** of their effort in number of divisions in World War II. For them no return to the pattern of World War I is possible. There are no mass armies, no modern armies in Western Europe. France does not intend to build a mass army, nor is Great Britain planning to deploy her forces on the European continent.

UTOPIAN GENERAL. This fall the version was that concentration of weapons might make up for lack of soldiers. It was rumored that 20 mechanized divisions would become the core of British-French strength in the West, numerically limited but exceedingly strong in fire power and mobility.

THE NEW LOOK IN AMERICAN UNIFORMS



Tvorba, Prague

For the moment it was believed that rearmament can be carried out without the mobilization of manpower, that weapons can substitute for men, and machines for combat-power. The utopian thought of British General Fuller, that tank armies can fight without infantry mass support, got some credit.

In spite of all changes and super weapons, however, no substitute for the fighting capacity of soldiers and the role of infantry has yet been found. Armored divisions are no alternates for infantry. In World War II the U.S. Army had 15 armored and 41 infantry divisions in the European theater.

This was highest saturation with armor, for which the entire U.S. war effort was required.

Yet, had the German defenses in the West been stronger, the shortage in U.S. infantry would have had serious consequences. In his report General Marshall stated frankly that "even with two thirds of the Germany Army engaged in Russia, it took every man the nation saw fit to mobilize to do our part of the job in Europe."

THE GREAT VACUUM. Tank masses offer no solution for Western strategy. Without the mass support of infantry and artillery tanks are not effective, and often even helpless. The French Army was defeated in 1940 not merely because it had no mechanized reserve, but first of all because it lacked the modern infantry-artillery team trained in anti-tank defense.

Thus the illusion of 20 armored divisions in the West will soon be brushed aside. Military defense still demands man power and mass armies.

This is the crux of the question which cannot be ignored by North Atlantic alliance strategy. Lend-lease is not a solution since weapons without trained combat power are only a heap of metal. It is therefore inevitable that those who require U.S. military lend-lease today will demand U.S. military manpower tomorrow.

So far the strategic program of the North Atlantic Alliance offers too much for peace and too little for war.

WEEK'S ROUNDUP

Continued from wide column on preceding page.

Russian Winter

THE INSCRUTABLES. The man in the street everywhere was asking: If the Russians are really fooling when they say they want peace, what do they want?

Last week Soviet actions grew more and more inscrutable to the complex minds. On Tuesday it was reported that

(a) The Russian occupation army in Germany is being broken up and marched into winter quarters;

(b) While U. S. exports to Russia dropped from $1,200,000 in August to $100,000 in September, Russia continued sending the U. S. 38% of our chrome and 30% of our manganese—both vital to the war machine for hardening steel.

On the same page as these reports in the New York **Times**, same day, the paper's diplomatic correspondent James Reston was quoted as saying that the U. S. is "goaded into acceptance of our responsibilities in world leadership" by Russia's "audacity, stupidity and insolence."

Marines to China

WHEN Secretary Marshall sits down to discuss the world with the President in Washington today, China is likely to come first on the agenda.

Chiang Kai-shek claimed a great victory in the battle for Suchow; the usual "neutral observers" quoted on these occasions doubted, however, whether the Communists had lost the offensive. The Communist radio estimated that elimination of Chiang would take another year. Chiang had written to Truman begging for a statement to bolster his morale.

U. S. marines at Tsingtao (U. S. naval base) were increased from 3,600 to 4,850. The $64 question was whether the marines would fight if the Communists reached Tsingtao, which their forces encircled.

Defense Secretary Forrestal told newsmen that would be something for the State Dept. to decide. In China, U. S. western Pacific fleet commander Vice-Admiral Badger said he "might" move marines to Shanghai "as a protective force."

TOO LATE. Whatever Washington might decide, the first full-scale collapse of Truman-Marshall policy was already beyond retrieving.

The last hope was to mobilize regional Chinese war lords into a sort of "third force"; but the war lords had never really exerted themselves to supply the necessary military force, and could hardly be expected to do better now that they saw Chiang as a lost cause. The Communists would certainly have to clean them up, but this would merely delay the inevitable.

Continued in wide column on next page.

PARIS—NOV. 11, 1948

They Gathered to Honor the War Dead; And Were Smashed By Police Clubs

By STANLEY KARNOW

NOV. 11, 1940. German troops have dimmed the lights of Paris. But 200 students assemble at the Sorbonne University for their traditional march to the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier under the Arch of Triumph — their annual homage to their dead. None of the 200 reach the Arch. Nazi soldiers and French collaborators fire on them. Many are killed. The survivors are deported to concentration camps. A few escape. The Nazis rule Paris. . . .

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NOV. 11, 1948. German Nazis no longer rule Paris. The Federal Union of War Veterans, the Federation of Former Slave Laborers, the combined associations of Resistance Fighters — these and other groups gather to march in their annual salute to those who died in the wars of France. . . .

THE ATTACK. Less than five minutes after the students assemble in the Place de la Sorbonne, they are attacked by the police. Their banners are seized. Some students are arrested, many are beaten; the remainder arrange to reassemble later.

The afternoon is turning to dusk and a fog is settling over the city when I reach the Champs-Elysees. Blue-uniformed police armed with pistols and carrying makeshift wooden clubs are lined up along the wide sidewalk.

BLUE FURY. The crowds have been herded behind portable wooden fences. The marchers are not able to maintain their groupings: students, war veterans, former prisoners of war, concentration camp inmates, all have been pushed together into one huge mass.

A whistle blows. A mass of blue uniforms, capes flying, suddenly seems to be unleashed like a pack of hounds. What was a moment before a relaxed group of policemen is turned into a mad fury, whirling white nightsticks and long wooden clubs, cracking skulls left and right.

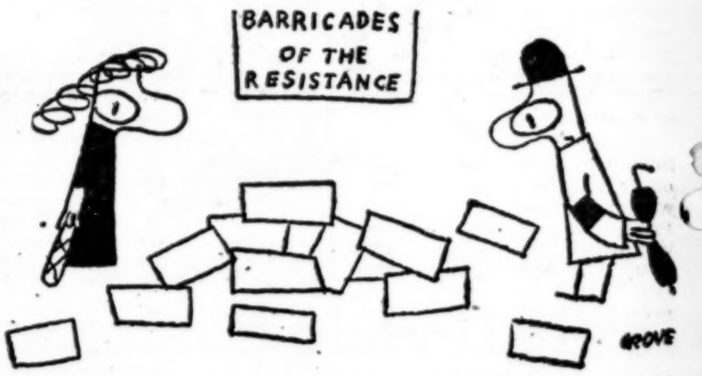
The crowd manages to unknot itself; some escape into side streets, others find refuge in doorways.

A whistle blows again. The police turn and hurl themselves upon the crowd gathered to watch the first charge. Women are thrown to the ground, men are clubbed. The whistle blows a third time and the clubbing stops. The police return to their ranks, relax, light cigarettes and begin chatting with each other.

Up and down the broad Avenue des Champs-Elysees this is happening at 20 intersections.

BARRICADES. At one place civilians have ripped up paving blocks with which to defend themselves. At the corner of the rue Washington a first-aid station has been set up. I watch three ambulances arrive, fill up with wounded and drive off to hospitals. The street here is covered with litters bearing war veterans, Communists, Socialists, Royalists, Gaullists, sightseers and journalists, with bleeding heads, broken arms and bruised bodies.

The police now charge time and time again in small individual "sorties" against the crowds. A group gathers to hoot and jeer at the "high command" of officers knotted together; the police charge them. Another band groups together and sings the Marseillaise; the police charge.



Canard Enchaine, Paris

"Well, that's all that remains of the Liberation."

"THE REDS DID IT." The reign of terror lasts more than two hours. Then it is dark and the lights are on. The police are still busy breaking up small groups left along the streets. Stragglers are driven into subway kiosks; the streets are cleared of barricades and rubble which was piled high by police as well as civilians.

Chief of Police Roger Leonard, cornered by a few newspapermen who managed to stumble upon him, is too much a caricature of himself as the calculating chief who has just ordered his private army to wipe out the mob. He wears a chesterfield, a black homburg, high-topped white collar and pearl stickpin.

"It was the newspapers like **L'Humanite** and **Ce Soir**," he says, "that incited people to disobey me and start manifestations outside the limits fixed by police orders. A few excited elements then persuaded others to riot."

Shrugging off questions about civilian casualties, he steps into his car and is driven away.

THE WORLD

WHAT'S GOING ON IN INDONESIA?

They Have A Henry Wallace Too

By KETOET TANTRI

ON ONE of the world fronts where people are fighting for independence—the oil- and rubber-rich islands of Indonesia—there is a lull in the news, but not in the struggle. A dramatic rearrangement of forces has been going on, and the shooting war is warming up for another spell on the front pages. There are rumors of a Dutch offensive in December.

Last month the Communists were reported in revolt against the Republican government. Muso, the Communists' leader who was trained for the colonial struggle at Moscow's Lenin Institute and Sun Yat Sen University, was said to have been killed.

On the basis of my long experience in Indonesia I think it unlikely that Muso is dead. I can neither confirm nor deny the report that the Communist "revolt" was actually a provocation by an American official of the U.N. "Good Offices" Committee, which forced the Communists to defend themselves and take to the hills. But certainly this would fit in with U.S. diplomacy which has isolation of Communists from other progressives as its object.

ASIATIC WALLACE. Anyhow the "isolation" policy is not succeeding. At the present time Amir Sjarifudin, left Socialist and former Prime Minister of the Republic, is at the head of "Red" forces advancing south of Madiun in east Java.

These forces are made up of Socialists, Communists and other progressive groups. Allied with the forces of Republican Premier Hatta are the Trotzkyists whom he had in jail last year. Tan Malakka, the Trotzkyist leader, spent the war years in Tokyo.

Amir Sjarifudin is known as "the Henry Wallace of Indonesia," and is no more a Communist than Wallace.

DUTCH HOSTILITY. Between 1934 and World War II, the major nationalist parties tried to cooperate with the Dutch.

AMIR SJARIFUDIN

They sought a 10-year transition toward self-government within the Netherlands Empire, but the Dutch refused to consider it and continued to jail all the nationalist leaders.

In 1942 the Indonesians offered to form a defense force with the Dutch against the Japanese. The Dutch refused. The Japanese occupied the islands with little difficulty, and the Indonesian people thereby exchanged one master for another.

In 1945, a few days after the Japanese surrender, the Republic of Indonesia was proclaimed. But the new Republic was forced to fight the Dutch, who were determined to reestablish the government they had abandoned in 1942.

Not until 1947 did the Dutch recognize the de facto authority of the Republic over Java, Sumatra and Madura. A sovereign democratic United States of Indonesia, linked to the Netherlands under the Dutch crown, was to come into being in January, 1949.

BLOCKADE. Meanwhile, the Dutch began new hostilities under the guise of "political action." Even while the Good Offices Committee of U.N. was trying to effect a settlement, Dutch forces seized Java's major harbors and about two-thirds of her territory.

In spite of the U.N.-negotiated agreement calling for a plebiscite and resumption of trade and communications, the Dutch tightened the blockade that has lasted for three years and brought trade to a standstill. They also continued to lop off parts of the Republic by setting up puppet states.

In the interim between the Japanese surrender and the arrival of the British armies, Sjarifudin became Minister of Information and later Minister of Defense.

His extraordinary heroism during the Japanese occupation had endeared him to the people, and he was the only man who could form a national army out of the isolated resistance groups that were fighting all over Java and Sumatra.

BREAK THE STALEMATE. When the Indonesians appealed to the U.N. the first time, they were let down by the United States, toward whom the entire East had looked as a champion of the oppressed peoples. Later, when the truce decreed by the Security Council confirmed the Dutch in all their aggressions since the 1947 agreement, Sjarifudin came to believe that something drastic must be done to break the stalemate. And more recently — with the Dutch blockade strangling the economic life of the Republic, and no prospect of an equable settlement — he decided to join the Communists in the hills of Java, as the most effective way of attracting western attention to the danger this sterile truce held for democratic countries everywhere.

KETOET TANTRI is a U.S. citizen of British birth who took an Indonesian name after settling in Bali in 1934, and is now visiting this country. She became famous throughout Asia for her "Sourabaya Sue" broadcasts from the new Indonesian Republic after the war.

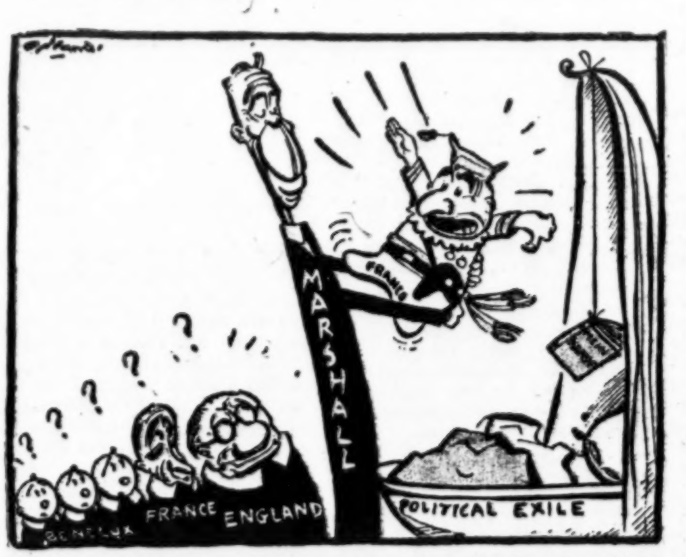
It's An Old Spanish Custom...

LAST week the Spanish government was licking the wounds recently inflicted on it by world opinion. For home consumption commentator Juan De La Casa refuted an attack by a well-known British weekly, saying it should be realized "that there are great difficulties to be faced in governing a country whose economy is rapidly worsening even though Franco is in power."

After explaining that Spain was forced to maintain what army it could as a defense against Stalin, De La Casa continued:

"As for our desire to get into the good books of the United Nations, let it be known that we are so sick of the affair that we would refuse even if we were invited. We do not want the United Nations or the Marshall Plan or the Western Bloc or the Atlantic Bloc. We know our duty as Christians and Europeans and above all we know what is right for Spain, and that is enough."

He added that Spain wanted only a loan from a sovereign Power to a sovereign Power. "We would pay the interest asked to the last farthing, for that is an old Spanish custom. . . ."



De Groene, Amsterdam

"Look, isn't he a dear little brother?"

WEEK'S ROUNDUP

Continued from wide column on preceding page.

The Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy summed up popular U. S. sentiment by urging the President to pull out of all Chinese intervention, for the sake of U. S. taxpayers as well as the long-suffering Chinese.

German Troubles

GERMAN BOOM-BUST. Gen. Marshall's plan for western European recovery was running into heavy trouble at what has become its base—Germany.

After 8,000,000 German workers staged a 2-hour protest strike against high prices, Gen. Robertson, British Military Governor, admitted that the boom started by the July currency reform might soon turn into a bust.

Robertson blamed the German bureaucrats — whom U. S. and British authorities put in office on the basis of how vehemently they hated communism — for the inflation, hoarding, evasion of food collections and lifting of price control regulations. On the last point he differed from his U. S. colleagues who are all for "free enterprise."

U. S. Military Governor Clay talked tough—to labor. He warned union leaders not to call general strikes to win a socialized economy—at least while Marshall Plan billions were pouring in.

TWO eye-witness reports to GUARDIAN showed how the American witch's brew looked to the common people in Europe.

Of the Oct. 29 demonstration in Stuttgart, Emil Carlebach, Communist leader in Greater Hesse who spent 12 years in Dachau and Buchenwald, wrote:

"Trade union president Stetter, who had been howled down when he asked workers for 'contributions to the Berlin airlift', tried to re-establish his hold over the men by calling a protest demonstration against high prices. About 80,000 people turned up, some marching for miles from their factories in closed formations. Stuttgart has a population of 400,000.

DEATH OF A DRESS. "The anger of the people reached its peak when some of the demonstrators noticed a lady's dress in a window, tagged 420 marks (an average worker's salary for 2-3 months). A brick smashed the window and a few moments later the furious workers had torn the dress to shreds.

"Within a few minutes U. S. troops were in action, clearing the streets with teargas, tanks and fixed bayonets. The Berlin press told of 30 wounded workers; the western German press kept quiet. Fifty were arrested. That night U. S. Military Governor LaFollette indefinitely banned all meetings and imposed nine-to-four curfew.

"Even the well-behaved U. S.-licensed press could not make a 'Cominform putsch' out of the event, since not a single Communist could be found among those arrested. On Nov. 6, 400,000 Stuttgart citizens were again allowed to leave their homes during the night, but the ban on meetings remained.

"The man in the street wonders why it is a 'purely German affair' when big business raises prices, but immediately becomes a matter for the Military Police when workers protest. Does this really fall under the heading, 'Democratization of Germany'?"

THREE YEARS AFTER. In France, open war seemed to have begun between the U. S.-dominated government and the working people who led the resistance against Nazi occupation. Peaceful Armistice Day marchers, going to lay wreaths to their martyrs on the Unknown Warrior's tomb, were attacked without warning or provocation (see **Karnow**, p. 4).

RUHR BITTERNESS. French reaction to the return of Ruhr industries to Nazi-tainted "trustees" grew increasingly bitter.

No French politician hoping to win votes could afford to be silent about it, and Gen. de Gaulle joined with President Auriol and ex-Premier Herriot in attacking U. S. policy.

UN-TURKISH FOOTNOTE. A clause in the draft anti-labor bill now before the Turkish parliament provides for a committee to investigate and suppress "Un-Turkish Activities."

By the Dean of Canterbury: *Appeal to the American People*

THE facts of an atomic age cry out to all mankind that the peoples of the world **must** live in peace and unity if they are to survive.

I know that, to many of us in the Western nations, the world-wide cooperation which peace requires is contemplated with grave misgivings. Many of us are encouraged to regard the Russians as sinister and evil, as atheistic and destructive of morality and culture and liberty as we understand it.

But for my own part I do not regard such cooperation between the peoples of the world with a sad heart, but rather with great joy at the thought of the benefits which would come to all.

BOTH CAN LEARN. I am convinced that the East has much to learn from the West, and the West also has much to learn from the East. We have our traditional liberties of freedom of speech and press and association which are of infinite value.

They are practicing another set of liberties, the right to work, the right to adequate pay for work, the right to rest after work, the right to health, to education, to full security for all regardless of sex, religion or race. Liberties which are complementary to our liberties and not antagonistic—liberties which singularly accord with that standard by which we Christians expect to be judged one day.

I was hungry. What did you do about that? Naked, sick, fettered and bound. What did you do about that?

The concrete physical facts that both the Western and Eastern halves of the world have all that is needed in raw material, sources of natural power and man-power to implement their development for many decades to come, make it unnecessary for either Russia or the United States to desire expansion.

This should remove that potential threat of war. And, moreover, I have found in Russia and in eastern Europe a sentiment for peace which heralds the possibility of a peaceful and cooperative world.

DR. HEWLETT JOHNSON, DEAN OF CANTERBURY

FEAR AND HOPE. We in Europe look to the American people with hope and with fear. Fear lest in your efforts for a 100 per cent security you shall appear as a new and terrible imperialistic power, wanting to dominate the whole world. Hope because you have it in your power to lead the world in the ways of peace. You have it in your power to disarm the fears of the Eastern world. You have it in your power to abolish world poverty.

We feel convinced that the mass of the people of the U.S. have at heart a desire for peace. And that they are just as strong in their desire for peace as the people in Russia or in easte Europe or in China, or in my o country where a vast people's movement for peace is developing.

Many in Europe fear that this desire for peace in the American people may not be expressed strongly enough. We have seen evidence of the people's power in the proposed Vinson mission, but it was not enough. We hope that the voices of peace may grow and take concrete form.

THE OLD AMERICA. The idea of America being imperialistic is now growing in Europe and it brings a terrible fear with it. We in England had thought that the old imperialistic idea of empire was departing.

Will America not come back to that America which I always associate with such joy when I walk through the streets of London and see the fine old statue of George Washington in front of the National Gallery, of Abraham Lincoln in front of the House of Commons, and the new statue of Roosevelt in Grosvenor Square?

That America, which I believe still represents the core and heart of the America of today, could settle all outstanding problems with the Soviet Union and bring peace between the East and the West and secure prosperity for the whole world.

ABUNDANT LIFE. And why should not the great religious bodies in your country take a foremost place in this campaign, to which they are really pledged as bearers of the name of the Prince of Peace?

Peace and friendship, with all the scientific appliances now placed in our hands, give promise of that abundance of life which we are told is the special mission of the founder of the Christian Church:

> *"I came that they might have life and life more abundant."*

ELLA WINTER

The Crusade of Abbe Boulier

PARIS

THE audience of 50,000 burst into sudden welcoming applause.

"C'est l'Abbé Boulier!" someone shouted. **"Bravo!"**

I looked and saw a tall priest with a long, ascetic, finely chiselled face edge his way to the front of the platform. He took a seat next to Maurice Thorez, general secretary of the French Communist Party.

At the Vél D'Hiv, Paris' Madison Square Garden, a huge crowd had gathered to protest against war. All kinds of people were there; the speakers represented the Christian Progressives, Socialist Unity and Communist Parties. All were delighted that a Catholic priest had come to add his influence for peace.

DREADFUL CRUSADE. A few days later I called on the Abbé Jean Eugene Boulier. I found him in a small, crowded, rented room on the fifth floor (no elevator) of a house between a grocery and a cleaner's, by the old market of St. Honoré near the center of town. The room was unheated. But the Abbé welcomed me warmly.

"How did you come to work with Communists?" That was the first question anyone from America would ask.

"But it is dreadful, this Holy Crusade for a Third World War!" he cried. "I take a position for peace in the name of Christian doctrine. Another world war with the atom bomb, bacteriological warfare, V-ones, V-twos, threes, fours, fives, sixes — what an abomination!"

He started getting into trouble in 1941 when he protested the showing in France of the Nazi film **Jew Suess.**

"Vichy did not like my sermon—I preached only against hate—and ordered me to leave within 24 hours. I'm still claiming for my house and furniture from the government."

POLAND AND ITALY. The next few years he participated in the Resistance, but he did not want to speak of that.

"Then I was invited with a group of other churchmen and scholars to Poland. I published an article describing the astonishing changes in that new society. . . . Yes, there were murmurs. . . . But my companions reported in the same vein, so nothing happened."

This year the abbé went to Italy during the elections of April, and on his return wrote some more pieces on "what I considered the unwarranted and impermissible interference with the expression of the popular will." This time there was considerable objection.

Then came Wroclaw. He was one of the 40-man French delegation of writers, scientists and scholars to the Congress of Intellectuals for Peace. The paper he read there amazed some American delegates.

In it he insisted that technical, moral and social progress are not opposed, that temporal and spiritual should be kept separate in the best Catholic doctrine, that the clergy, like others, should "Render unto Caesar." "You cannot serve both God and Mammon," he said. . . . 'Our faith from Rome, but our politics from home.'"

SCANDALOUSLY PEACEFUL. In Wroclaw, the Abbé got a name. The Congress said, "We discovered Boulier at Wroclaw." But others discovered him too. The Catholic Institute of Paris (equivalent of Fordham University), at which he was Professor of International Law, found that his lectures were "no longer necessary."

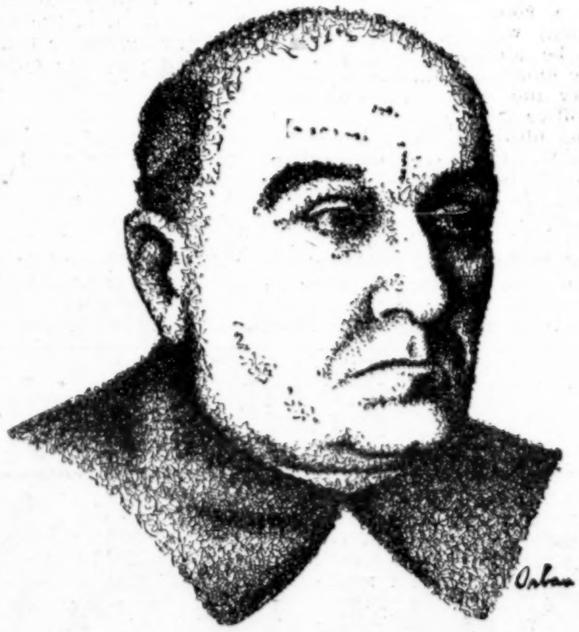
And after the peace meeting the neighborhood where he lives and the neighborhood where he celebrates mass were "scandalized." It was suggested he absent himself from his duties for awhile.

"What else could they do to you?" I asked too boldly.

"I suppose they could try and stop me going to meetings," he said sadly.

"How did you happen to go to this one?"

"I was invited. I go wherever I am invited if I believe in it."



ABBÉ JEAN EUGENE BOULIER

"IN FOR IT." "How do you yourself feel about being allied with Communists?"

"No one said anything wrong at that meeting, did they? I was for everything that was said. And you saw from the applause how important it is for people to feel the Church is with them in their struggle for world peace.

"I must say, though," and his smile was a little wry, "when I saw myself seated next to Maurice Thorez I said, 'Now I'm in for it!'"

"Are you sorry you went?"

He just looked. "We have a saying. 'When the wine is drawn, you drink it.'"

I came back to politics.

"What is your attitude toward the Eastern European countries?"

"I think these societies should be let alone to build in their new way."

"And the U.S.S.R.?"

"People are very sensitive, they almost have antennae. They know something big and constructive is going on there. I believe the French people will never fight the Soviet Union." He paused awhile. "Our France is such a beautiful land. . . . Politics can be made to confuse things that might be very simple."

ELLA WINTER, writer and lecturer now traveling in Europe, is the author of "Red Virtue" and "I Saw the Russian People."

THE NATION

REBELLION ON THE WATERFRONT

King Joe Follows His Men Into Battle; He Felt the Royal Ramparts Tremble

By TOM O'CONNOR

AT 12:01 a.m. on Saturday, Nov. 13, Joseph P. Ryan, president of the AFL International Longshoremen's Assn., found himself leading a strike. It was an unaccustomed role. Never before, in the 21-years of Ryan's iron rule, had the ILA had an "official" coastwide strike. There had been, particularly in recent years, numerout "wildcat" stoppages, the most notable of which tied up the Port of New York for 18 days in 1945. Ryan's function had always been to break strikes, to represent the shipowners in getting the men back to work as quickly as possible with the least gains they would accept.

But now Ryan makes unkind remarks about the shipowners in public. He pounds the table. He refuses to load Marshall Plan cargoes to save Europe from communism.

HIS PEOPLE. This sudden transformation of King Joe is not without historic parallel. Other absolute monarchs, after long and lucrative reigns, have sensed the precise moment at which the grumbling of unrest of the ruled threatens to turn into active rebellion, and have been shrewd enough to forestall revolution by leading the masses in a fiery crusade against some other enemy.

As this is written, with the East Coast longshore strike a week old and every port shut down from Hampton Roads to the Canadian Border, it looks like a good bet that Ryan's strategy will succeed, that he will be able to enjoy yet a while longer the $20,000-a-year salary and other perquisites of his office.

The ultimate test will come when Ryan proposes a new settlement to a rank-and-file wearied by the strike, a rank-and-file whose average annual pay-gross, not take-home—is about $2,600. There's no backlog of savings accounts or security bonds in families making that kind of money. A long strike, some few concessions by the shipowners, and the whole thing may wind up with the discouraged longshoremen crawling back into their holes and King Joe still riding high.

STOOGE PACKED. The rank and file movement, if it can be called that, is inchoate and disorganized. The union is broken up into myriad locals, on both craft and geographical bases. Some of the locals never meet; in others, officers are "elected" at quickie meetings, called suddenly and packed with Ryan's stooges and strong-arm men. Many of the locals are run by ex-convicts and gangsters.

Jobs, under the antiquated system of hiring known as the "shape-up," depend on favoritism and keeping your nose clean. Fear rules.

THE OPPOSITION. There are, however, three distinct opositions to Ryan in the union: the Communist Party, the Sampsonites and the back pay boys.

The Communist Party is the only one of the three which has any long-range program for over-all reform of the union and replacement of the shape-up with hiring halls. It has almost no membership among longshoremen and very little influence.

The back-pay group has a single issue: enforcement of the Supreme Court decision against both Ryan and the shipowners, that the 40-hour-week law applies to longshoremen and they are entitled to "overtime on overtime."

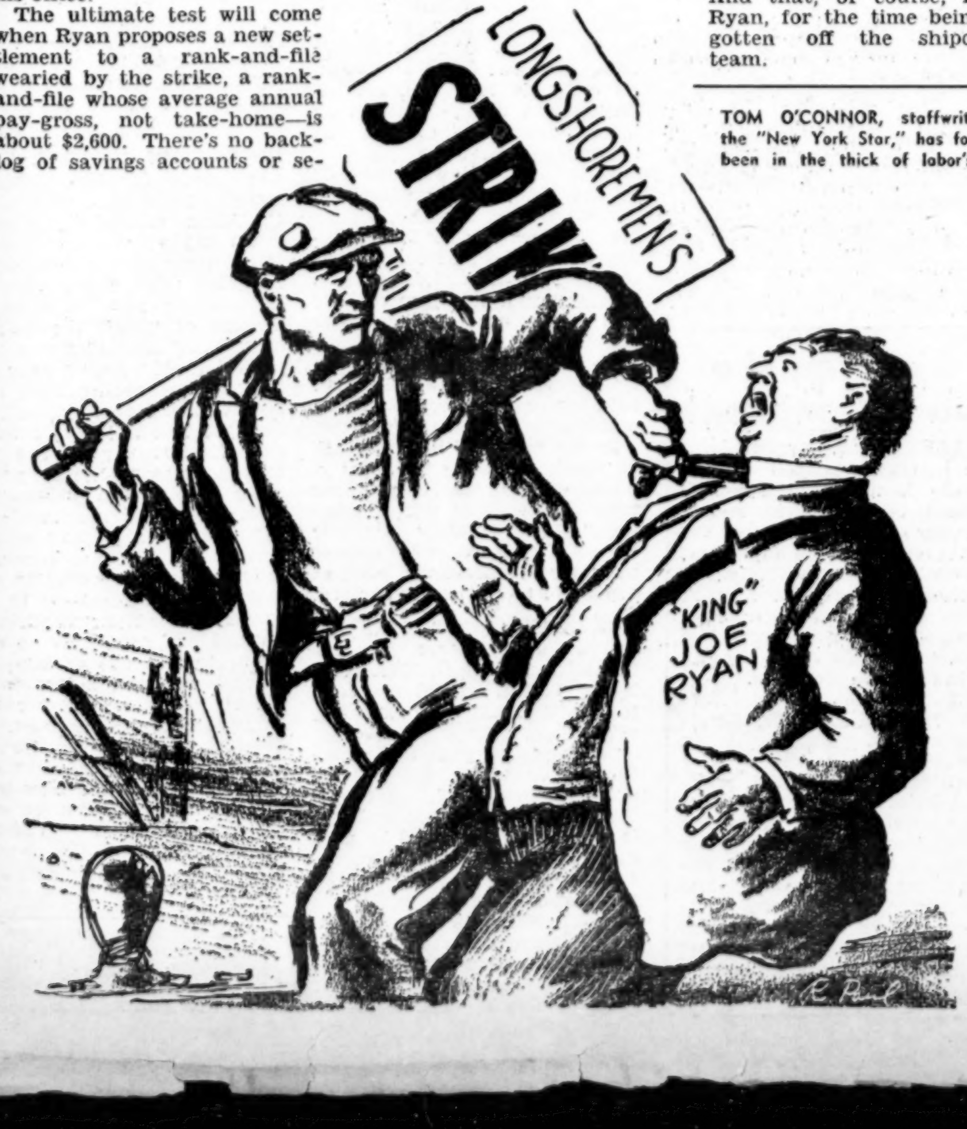
The strongest opposition to Ryan is the following of John J. (Gene) Sampson, delegate of Local 791 in Manhattan's Chelsea area. Sampson grew up in the union as a Ryan protege, but he runs a "clean" local, with regular meetings, democratic elections, financial statements, etc.; and since 1945, when he led an unauthorized strike against a contract negotiated by Ryan and came out with a vastly better settlement for the men, he has been a potential threat to Ryan's rule.

SAMPSON, THE MAN. The current strike began with Sampson's local walking out, at the end of a Taft-Hartley 80-day cooling-off period, in protest against a new contract negotiated and recommended by Ryan. Three days later a majority of longshore locals had voted to reject the contract, so Ryan took over.

Sampson is fervently anti-communist, wedded to the shape-up, far from being a potential "labor statesman." He will make deals as he sees opportunities—as when he moved the resolution at the 1947 convention which reaffirmed Ryan's lifetime tenure in the presidency. He is also personally honest, has a sense of loyalty to his men, and is willing to fight hard for them on pork chop issues. He has an unorganized, but potentially great, following among men in other locals.

If the reign of King Joe is ever to be ended, it would seem that Sampson, leading a fight against the shipowners when Ryan is on the shipowners' side, will have to do the job. And that, of course, is why Ryan, for the time being, has gotten off the shipowners' team.

TOM O'CONNOR, staffwriter for the "New York Star," has for years been in the thick of labor's wars.



WEEK'S ROUNDUP

Rah, Rah, Rah!

FROM the temporary White House at Key West, Fla., last week, the **Herald Tribune**'s Bert Andrews wrote: "Campaign exhaustion has run head-on into semi-tropical languor and so far languor has triumphed."

The President was flushed with sun and victory. He strolled about the beach in seersucker slacks while cheerleaders sang:

"Two, four, six eight—Who do we appreciate?
"Truman, Truman, rah, rah, rah;
"Dewey, Dewey, ha, ha, ha."

Then, last Tuesday, two weeks after his victory at the polls, the President held his first press conference. On foreign affairs he went down the line for Secretary of State Marshall and all his works, thereby confounding Cabinet makers. On domestic affairs he repeated his campaign vow to repeal the Taft-Hartley law but said nothing about restoring the Wagner Act. He said he would press for his civil rights program. He would not comment on reviving the excess-profits tax.

THEY WENT SHOPPING. Secretary Forrestal, whose departure from the Cabinet has been rumored, flew down to Key West for lunch on Thursday. No White House personnel were on hand to greet Forrestal at the airport when he arrived. The President's Army, Navy and Air Force aides all had gone on a shopping tour to Havana with Mrs. Truman and Margaret.

At the week-end Secretary Marshall, too, was hurrying home to confer with the President in Washington today. The President underscored his loyalty to bipartisanship by designating Dewey's adviser, John Foster Dulles, formerly referred to as the future Secretary of State, to take Marshall's place during the Secretary's absence.

Bi-partisanship was coming back into its own on Capitol Hill too. The National Retail Drygoods Assn. meeting in Washington was told in a report: "It is clear that a pleasant relationship will continue between the conservative elements in both parties."

The New Lineup

MANDATE OR NONE. If the Republicans team up with Southern Democrats on specific issues they will be able to outvote the Administration at will. The Rules Committee, according to GUARDIAN's Washington correspondent, John B. Stone, will cross Truman up even if he does decide to live up to the Mandate. Liberal Congressman Adolph J. Sabath (D - Ill.) may be given the chairmanship but the "conservative elements" will nevertheless be able to muster a 6-6 tie. E. E. Cox (D - Ga.) and Howard J. Smith (D - Va.) will offset Sabath.

Members of the Ways and Means Committee choose chairmen of other committees, generally with an eye to seniority. Of the nine holdover Democrats on that crucial committee, four are from White Supremacy states. Test of their power and the Administration's influence will come with the naming of the chairman of the House Executive Expenditures Committee.

John W. McCormick (D - Mass.) is No. 1 man, but he is slated for majority floor leader. No. 2 man—and clearly in line for committee chairmanship—is William L. Dawson (D - Ill.). Dawson is a Negro. There's the test.

In the Senate the choice for majority leader lies between Scott Lucas (D - Ill.) and Joseph O'Mahoney (D - Wyo.). Both have consistent anti-New Deal records. Under their direction, the 1948 Mandate may have tough sledding.

GEESE ON GUARD. The plight of small business was being aired last week from angles high and low. The Senate Small Business Committee under Sen. Homer E. Capehart (R - Ind.) has been hearing testimony on the subject from representatives of big business only. The House Committee on Small Business, under Wright Patman (D - Tex.), has turned up some small businessmen to testify.

Rep. Patman last week indicated that monopolists

Continued in wide column on next page.

Trenton 'Scottsboro Case' Becoming National Issue

THE case of six Negroes, sentenced to death in Trenton, N. J., for a murder they could not have committed, last week was on its way to becoming a national issue.

Terming the conviction of the men "another Scottsboro case," the Civil Rights Congress has announced that it will undertake a nationwide campaign to rescue the victims from the State's death house. GUARDIAN in its Oct. 25 issue first brought the case to national attention.

Local civic and religious groups have been in action on the case since the conviction last August. The Trenton Civil Rights Congress has presented Gov. Driscoll with petitions bearing 7,000 signatures asking for a new trial.

The crime charged against the men is the murder of William Horner, 73, last Jan. 27. Though witnesses agreed no more than three men were involved in the killing, six men were arrested. In prison they signed confessions which they later repudiated in court. There was strong evidence that the men had been beaten and drugged into signing. Employers, neighbors and co-workers placed all of the accused far from the scene of the crime.

The New Jersey Supreme Court is now considering their appeal.

WEEK'S ROUNDUP

Continued from wide column on preceding page.

might not be unbiased experts on small business. Said Sen. Capehart: "They [the Democrats] always throw up their hands and cry, 'Monopoly, monopoly, monopoly.' I'm sick and tired of it."

Patman, still critical of monopolies, retorted: "On the farm we know that a goose does not make a good guardian for shelled corn."

TRIGGER MEN. Anticipating a renewal of the President's civil rights campaign, Dixiecrats, now back in the fold, menacingly fingered their filibuster.

In Chicago Progressive Party leaders found, on close inspection, that they had a foundation to build on. They stood ready to push Truman left or else harvest a crop of ex-Democrats every time the Administration breaks a promise. (See page 9.)

Labor's Week

WHILE AFL delegates were winding up their convention business in Cincinnati last week, CIO advance detachments were preparing for theirs in Portland, Ore. Anti-communism was the keynote for both sessions. In No. 2 place was the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act.

Even the demand for T-H repeal was somewhat whittled down by AFL resolutions writers. The provision of the law requiring a non-Communist oath from union officials was given an O.K.

Secretary of Labor Tobin promised the AFL convention that the T-H would be repealed within one month after Congress convenes. He did not sharply define the labor law planned to replace it.

REDS, REDS, REDS. The convention demanded that AFL-affiliated Canadian unions toss out Communists; resolved to strengthen efforts to combat communism abroad; heard Max Eastman analyze the Russian menace in China, and raised the salaries of President William Green and Secretary-Treasurer George Meany $5,000 each. Green will get $25,000 a year, Meany $23,000.

REUTHER'S RAIDERS. Top CIO officials may or may not move decisively against Communists in China or Canada. They will certainly concern themselves with what they maintain is Communist influence among their own affiliates. Sure symptom of such influence, according to these officials, is the reluctance of some unions to oppose Henry Wallace.

For some time right-wing unions such as Walter Reuther's United Automobile Workers of America have been charged with raiding left-wing unions such as the United Electrical Workers. During closed CIO Executive board meetings last week, which preceded the opening of the convention, President Philip Murray said that the raiding would not be going on if the victimized unions were not left-wing. They could, he said, choose between Soviet policy and policy laid down by the CIO. There was no middle ground. Politics, he said, in a bitter three-hour speech, was not for local autonomy.

Albert Fitzgerald, UE president, told the board that if his union were deprived of political autonomy, no one would have to ask it to take a walk; it would be on its way.

The showdown inside CIO will come this week. It may well come when the Executive Board brings in its decision

Continued in wide column on next page.

THE NATION

A TRIAL U. S. PAPERS WOULDN'T COVER

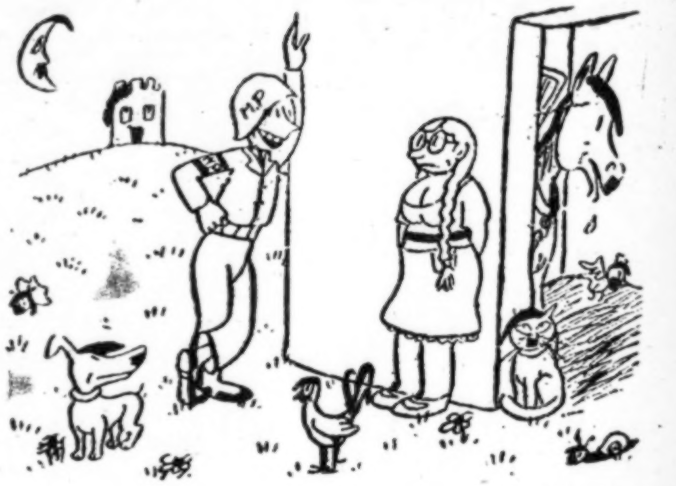
How General Electric Collaborated With Nazi Munitions Makers

By JAMES LERNER

THE General Electric Co. last week stood convicted and sentenced by Federal Court for a "criminal conspiracy" to violate the anti-trust statutes. The language of the indictment does no justice to the grim record of the case, and the sentence has the quality of forgiveness. The Federal prosecutor told the judge that the fine of $56,000 levied on the company would be regarded by the business community as "merely a license fee which may be charged off as the cost of doing illegal business."

Eleven other similar cases against G.E. are now pending in the courts.

For five months I sat in on the trial. For the first two weeks one other reporter kept me company in the press box. After that his paper let the story drop and I was the only American to hear the full story of the partnership between General Electric and Krupp, munitions makers to the Nazis.



Tvorba, Prague

"Gosh, I'm sure you were never a Nazi."

GOOSE STEP. That story goes back to 1936 in Essen, Germany. The tramping of Nazi boots could be heard through the windows of a well-furnished office suite. Inside, officials of the General Electric Co. and of Krupp and their ladies, both American and German, were mixing business with pleasure.

The business was the extension of agreement that deprived the U.S. of tungsten carbide, an important war material which helped Hitler speed his arming for World War II.

During the trial an uneasy vice president of G. E. on the witness stand in New York's Federal Court building was forced to recall those marching troops, the smoking chimneys above the munitions works and G.E.'s part in making it all possible.

A tungsten carbide agreement had originally been put into effect in 1928. In that year tungsten carbide sold for $48 a pound. The monopoly agreement gave G. E. the right to set the price: $453 a pound.

INTELLIGENCE TOO. According to the 1936 revision of the agreement, there was to be no export of tungsten carbide from the U.S. to any part of the world, except Canada. Everything else was to go to Krupp. As early as 1934 German industry was using 22 times as much tungsten carbide as American industry.

Tungsten Carbide

Cemented tungsten carbide is a composition which is harder than diamonds. It is used in drawing wire; in dies; in cutting tips of high-speed tools; in tips of armor-piercing shells, and reportedly in armor itself. With it, cutting tools approach unprecedented efficiency and speed.

Hitler could buy 12 pounds of the material for what one pound cost in the U.S.

G.E. lived up to its agreement to make periodic reports to the Nazi munitions makers of how much tungsten carbide was being used in American industry, an exciting bit of war intelligence. There were royalty payments to the German firm on every pound of the material sold in the U.S.

In an ad published by G.E. in April, 1942, the material is described as "more precious than diamonds in war production." Unfortunately for our armed forces, it was almost as rare as diamonds and as expensive when the war started.

THE BOTTLENECK. Testifying before the Senate Patents Committee in April, 1942, John Henry Lewin, special assistant to the U.S. Attorney General, said:

"In contrast with the situation in Germany, the present drastic shortage of this essential material in this country is notorious. The need to produce it, to retool our manufacturing plants with it, and to instruct workmen in the use of such tools has constituted one of the principal bottlenecks in our present production program."

In 1940, after the outbreak of war, the Frankford Arsenal, U.S. Army, asked for bids on tungsten carbide. One of the bidders was Firth-Sterling Steel Co., a small company licensed by GE-Carboloy to sell the composition. The company estimated that a fair price would be $3,375 for 1000 shell-turning blanks.

The GE license arrangement required that Firth-Sterling charge the government $8,370. The company complained to the Federal Trade Commission and the whole scandal was bared.

Examining these facts, Chairman Bone of the Senate Patent Committee concluded: "We have this invisible control which arranges our foreign policy in a way much more potent in affecting the current of economic life in the country than some of these treaties we approve and ratify in the Senate."

RELUCTANT JUSTICE. These were some of the facts presented at the trial. Judge John C. Knox reluctantly handed down his verdict on Nov. 12. Concerning all the defendants, he said: "One thing that impresses me here is that the offense of which the defendants stand convicted was committed eight or nine year ago. In the intervening time none of them, so far as appears, has engaged in any illegal conduct, and I personally have a very strong indisposition to punish stale crimes too severely; I think it is bad practice."

But the judge was at last forced to impose sentence. He said: "I am not going to send any of the defendants to jail. I will relieve their minds upon that. I am not going to send them to jail out of the considerations I have just voiced. I feel, however, that I cannot in justice to various other defendants who come before me in anti-trust suits, pass over what has happened here without some expression of criticism and condemnation of their acts. If I did so, the occasion would be misinterpreted by many people."

JAMES LERNER is a veteran labor reporter, on the staff of UE News, organ of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO).

Light on the Dark Continent

WHILE the struggle of the Asiatic peoples makes daily headlines, the movement of events in Africa passes almost unnoticed. Yet it is on Africa, with its great wealth and reservoir of "cheap" black labor, that the eyes of western free-enterprisers are more and more fixed as Asia marches toward independence.

In our next three issues Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, America's leading authority on Negro history and affairs, will take GUARDIAN readers inside the Dark Continent. Every alert person in America will want to read this series of articles describing the economic and strategic aims of the western powers in Africa, what they mean to the world, and how Africans are expressing their opposition.

THE NATION

POST-ELECTION MEETING IN CHICAGO

Progressives of 48 States Map Plans to Build A Strong Party

CHICAGO

THE lobby of the Hotel Knickerbocker last week-end glittered with brass. Behind closed doors on a lower-floor suite Army and National Guard men, FBI and Central Intelligence agents conferred busily in preparation for a dreamy M-Day. The brisk military term for the gathering was "Operation Foresight."

In the hotel roof-garden a dozen floors up, Henry Wallace, Glen Taylor and Progressive Party leaders from 48 states gathered in their first post-election powwow.

Looking ahead to '49, '50 and '52, the Progressives resisted all temptation to turn their session into "Operation Hindsight." Wallace (see Col. 4) and Taylor praised national, state and local leaders; braced them for the fight ahead to achieve the program of peace and New Dealism which, in the Progressive Party view, Harry Truman borrowed for the purpose of getting elected.

Tough Elmer Benson, Progressive Party vice-chairman, warned of incipient fascism ahead for America, advised Progressives not to mince words or compromise principles in exposing political blacksliders.

WHAT BUTCH SAID. Tougher Vito Marcantonio, peppery veteran of eight Congressional campaigns and winner in seven (including victory over both Republican and Democratic opponents in his '48 fight in Manhattan's East Harlem) pounded home the lessons of immediate, ground-up, ward-and-precinct party building based on community service as the antidote to Red-baiting and bipartisan double-deals. Recalling his early political mentor, the late Fiorello La Guardia, "Marc" told the applauding delegates:

"Butch used to put it this way: 'Water is bound to reach its own level — but we won't wait for that!'"

ON THE BALL. After four days of intensive planning the session adjourned, leaving to a high-powered administrative committee the task of getting down to brass tacks on keeping the Progressive Party mobilized and on the ball for '49 and after.

Downstairs in the Hotel Knickerbocker, the Army's "Operation Foresight" wound up its business in two days. Said one noted Progressive Party committeewoman, breasting her way through the lobby brass to get to the Progressive Party conclave:

"We ought to recess this conference and picket them!"

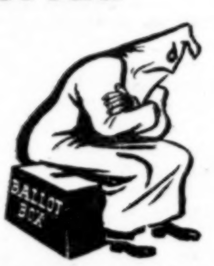
FULL HOUSE. The conference itself heard reports and plans for all 48 states, though the Progressive Party was on the ballot in only 45.

Reports were both critical and hopeful. Recommendations were sharp and specific. Some of these concerned the press in general, GUARDIAN in particular. Henry Wallace called for a paper "which tells the truth or which slants the truth no more in our direction than the **New York Times** or the **Herald Tribune** do in the direction of their pet parties and interests."

Other reports mentioned GUARDIAN by name. A resolution, passed unanimously, welcomed GUARDIAN and recommended that state and regional organizations of the Progressive Party help build a sustaining readership for the paper in the interests of a progressive press.

Here are a sampling of state reports:

Florida

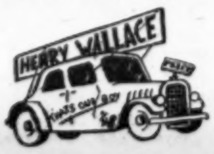


WE FEEL that the total Wallace vote in Florida is not indicative of our strength. The Ku Klux Klan rode in Central Florida on Election Eve. The newspapers minimized and ridiculed the effect this might have upon Negro voters, but it is a fact that the Negro vote did not turn out in numbers.

Existing electoral laws in various counties of the state are cumbersome and make registration extremely difficult. For instance, Lakeland people must register in Bartow (a distance of 10 miles), residents of St. Petersburg must go to Clearwater (15 miles away) in order to register. Also, voting is made impossible for the unalert, since education for the voting public is altogether absent or at a minimum.

Maine

MAINE'S one picturesque and unique bit of campaigning was that of Mr. Albert, our State Treasurer. He fastened a box, 5 feet long and 3 feet wide, on top of his car, carrying campaign slogans. From early morning till late at night he and his bill-board-on-wheels were seeking out the most populous spots at Old Orchard Beach and elsewhere, the car would be parked, bulletin boards displaying leaflets would be brought forth and disposed around the car's sides, and Mr. Albert would distribute literature, solicit nomination signatures, and engage in personal conversions.



Maryland

THE Progressive Party of Maryland has a major issue at present which has deeply affected the entire city of Baltimore. The conviction for conspiracy to incite to riot and disturbance of the peace of seven members of the Progressive Party, including the State Director and the Youth Director, arising from inter-racial tennis matches in Druid Hill Park on July 11, makes possible a development of a mass movement in defense of the seven and for the breaking of jimcrow in the parks. The issue is one around which it is felt the Progressive Party of Baltimore City can be built.

(GUARDIAN will carry the full story in an early issue.)

A Little Crow, Too

C. B. Baldwin, general secretary of the Progressive Party, delivered the main administrative report. Following are excerpts from his address:

The failure to establish ourselves through active contacts with the people, through leadership on the issues which agitate them, through collaboration with all sorts of other organizations through which the people express their demands, is responsible for our altogether wrong prediction that Truman would be the worst defeated Democratic candidate in years.

We humbly take our place at the table of all those who are now eating crow. But it is more serious for us than for news commentators—we have a political responsibility which can only be carried out if our organization is in close touch with the people. We know that no indicators proved of any value in this election. But an organization rooted in the people, in touch with the people's organizations, with people in the shops, with housewives, with youth in the colleges, with the farmers and the veterans—such an organization would not have made such an error in prediction.

WEEK'S ROUNDUP

Continued from wide column on preceding page.

to revoke the charter of the New York CIO Council. Saul Mills, secretary of the New York Council, cooled his heels outside the meeting room while the board considered the Council's fate. He was not called in. Said Murray: "He may be heard later—or after the convention."

Civil Liberties

LOUIS BUDENZ once was a Communist and an editor of the **Daily Worker.** Three years ago he broke loose from his voluntary Muscovite bondage and became the voluntary star witness against communism for the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

He went back into the Catholic church and became a teacher at Fordham university. Last week he had a goddaughter. Elizabeth T. Bentley, who claims to have been a Communist and a spy and who followed him as star witness for the Un-American Committee, was baptized a Catholic with Budenz as her godfather. It was said that a teacher's post in a Catholic institution was to mark the next high spot in her career.

WEEKDAYS ONLY. While she was being baptized, a process server was trying vainly to reach her. The new convert is being sued for libel by William Remington, one of those against whom she testified before the Un-American Committee.

On Sunday she was to speak at the Aquinas Institute in Rochester, N. Y. The topic of her talk: "I Was A Russian Spy."

The hapless process server had no hopes of catching her on the week-end, however. No Federal papers can be served on Sundays.

Said Mr. Remington's attorney with the patience of a watcher on Groundhog Day: "We'll just have to wait until she comes out on a week day."

TRYING WEEK. In New York, Judge Harold R. Medina waved aside flocks of black—and red—headlines and repeated blandly, "There is no hysteria." With that he set Jan. 17 as the date for the trial of the 12 leaders of the Communist Party. The trial was postponed from last Monday because of the heart ailment of Communist Party Chairman William Z. Foster. Judge Medina indicated emphatically that there would be no further postponement.

Ten days before that, the arch anti-Communist, J. Parnell Thomas will go on trial, himself. No civil liberties case, he is charged with operating a kickback racket in his Congressional office. Last week the retiring chief inquisitor of the Un-American Committee was fingerprinted, mugged and released on $1,000 bail. All in five minutes.

HENRY A. WALLACE

'Let's Hold Them to It'

Henry Wallace keynoted the meeting. Here are highlights of his speech:

THE Democrats have promised to examine every avenue of approach to peace and a settlement with Russia. Let's hold them to it. They have promised civil liberties legislation. Let's hold them to it. They have promised lower prices and low-rent housing. Let's hold them to it. They have promised repeal of Taft-Hartley. Let's hold them to it.

We must of course, have some kind of publication so we can keep in touch with each other. If we rely on the daily and weekly press for information about ourselves, we are lost. One of the disrupting factors in the New Deal ten years ago in Washington was that so many New Dealers believed the poison handed out about other New Dealers. Only a very few are able to read the poison of the press without being affected by it.

You can't mention foreign policy without at once bringing up the question of communism and Russia. I have no doubt there are dozens of people in this room who will argue that our vote was cut down to a small fraction of what it would have been because of the red issue. This may or may not be true. I personally think that if we had been the perfect embodiment of the ADA on the red issue we would have got less votes rather than more. But granted that we would have got more votes if we had not been smeared I still say that our chief reason for being was to further the cause of peace—which, especially, means peace with Russia.

We have come out stronger, I am certain, from a long-run point of view by standing on principle than by retreating before the red-smear.

It is not the purpose of the Progressive Party to apologize for Russia. Our concern is with the United States. We are as American as Jefferson was at the time of the French Revolution. We are more interested in the outside world than Jefferson because we know now that modern technnology makes the problem of the common man in one country the concern of people everywhere. We know that World War III would destroy civilization and perhaps all humanity.

Peace—not Russia—is the dominant issue in the eyes of us progressives. But we know there can be no peace without an understanding with Russia and without an understanding of the problems of the ordinary people in every nation in the world. We have fought, and shall continue to fight, for one world at peace. We shall fight against the cold war-two world concept with everything we have. We know that history will demonstrate the tragic wrongness of American big business trying to dominate the world through the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan.

DOLLAR STRETCHERS

Watch Out For Shoddy

YOU'RE a lucky woman if you haven't been stuck recently with shoddy apparel in the moderate price range. There's a lot of it in the stores and you can blame inflation for it: some manufacturers prefer the indirect price increase achieved by lowering the quality of merchandise.

There are two things you can do about shoddy material:

- Raise hell. Even the National Retail Dry Goods Assn. encourages customers to kick to force manufacturers to improve quality.
- Buy with care.

Here are some things to watch for:

TAFFETA. This material is popular but tricky. If a taffeta dress is heavily "sized" any contact with water leaves ugly spots. Even if you never spill soup or get caught in the rain, your taffeta dress may harden with time, or whiten after several dry cleanings. When buying taffeta, rub the material between your fingers: if it is excessively "sized," a powdery substance will come off on your fingers.

ACETATE RAYONS. These are sometimes treacherous. Be careful of acetate rayon dyes that have blue as a component: they frequently fade even without wearing because a careless dyer failed to use an inhibitive finish. If it happens to you, take the garment back to the store.

POORLY-DYED TRIMMINGS. These will often bleed in cleaning and ruin the entire dress. Beware of fussily-trimmed dresses in general: they're expensive to dry clean and they don't wear well. Look for detachable colored trimmings.

SELF-FABRIC BELTS AND BUTTONS. Examine these carefully: some are merely pasted to a paper backing and come apart in water or dry cleaning solvent. Some plastic belts also dissolve at the dry cleaners. Some fabric-covered buttons have metal backings which can ruin the whole garment when they rust.

Furniture Prices Down

People who needed furniture desperately after the war have gotten it; many other people were too smart to pay excessive prices; still others were too broke. So now prices are showing signs of sagging and some manufacturers are taking markdowns of as much as 25 per cent. You'll see these reductions in department stores soon, especially during the traditional February furniture sales.

Avoid buying large "suites" of furniture even if the price is marked down; many such sets are built up with extra pieces for which you have little use. You can usually save money by buying the individual pieces that you really need. It's more stylish anyway; decorators say that contrasting or complementary pieces are more "modern" than matching sets.

If you use slipcovers all year round, why not buy the furniture in the muslin and have two sets of covers made, one for winter and one in a summer fabric? Why buy a chair with an expensive fabric if it is going to be covered all the time anyhow?

And you can save money by buying a loveseat instead of a sofa. People rarely sit in a row on a sofa to talk to each other. Loveseats are cheaper and take up less space in small apartments.

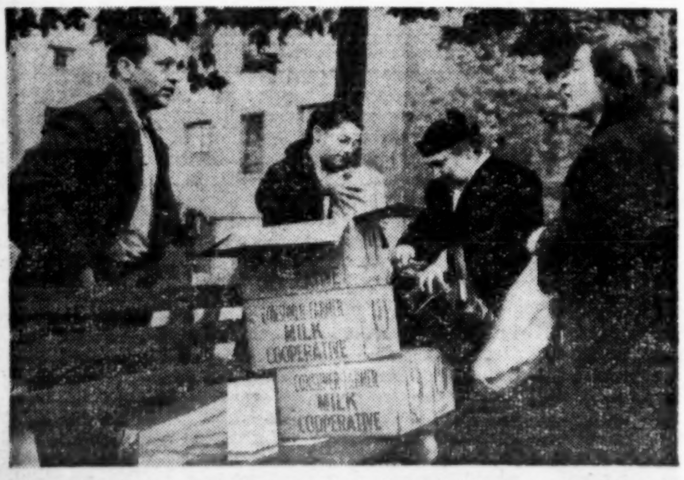
At Last: A Roach Killer

DDT has been weakest against crawling insects like ants and roaches, but now a new insecticide called chlordane is coming on the market which really gets these pests.

Like DDT, it leaves a residue which keeps on killing some time after application. It is available in dust or liquid form: use the liquid for painting indoor surfaces, the dust for ant trails outdoors.

Chlordane has had its tryout in the Navy and if it kills Navy roaches then it will kill any roach that lives.

Look for chlordane among the list of ingredients on the label of the next insecticide you buy.



How the Consumer-Farmer Milk Cooperative operates to sell milk at 3c less than store prices. This is the station outside the Ft. Greene housing project in Brooklyn. Interested consumers in other cities can get details from Murray Kubitz, Consumer-Farmer Coop., 35-30—36th St., Long Island City N.Y.

BETTER LIVING

THE FLUORINE TREATMENT

Tooth Decay In Kids Cut 50 P.C.

De Groene, Amsterdam

IF YOU haven't heard about the "fluorine treatment" for protecting children's teeth, it's time you did. It has been fully tried out and its benefits proved. It's simple, cheap, effective, and can be applied by any dentist.

Standard procedure is for a dentist to clean a child's teeth thoroughly and then give four applications of a new chemical over a four-week period.

The chemical is a two per cent solution of sodium fluoride. Cost of the chemical itself is very low—so that a dentist's charge for the treatment should be little more than for a regular cleaning visit.

The U. S. Public Health Service recommends that all children receive the standard four-application treatment at the age of three, to be repeated at seven, 10 and 13, thus giving full protection to baby teeth and permanent teeth.

NO CURE-ALL. Sodium fluoride will not prevent **all** decay, and some children benefit from it more than others, but controlled studies over a period of years prove conclusively that it reduces tooth decay from 40 to 50 per cent. The treatment is so effective that even the do-nothing 80th Congress appropriated $1,000,000 for sodium fluoride demonstration work and research.

The chemical apparently is not so effective in adults as in children, and no standard treatment for adults has been devised; but observations on its benefits for adults are not yet complete.

Fluorine research is also continuing in other countries. The U.S.S.R. developed a fluorine-compound toothpaste called Ftor which has protected the teeth of Moscow school children for several years. But authorities here advise you not to fool around with sodium-fluoride toothpastes and mouthwashes. Fluorine is poisonous in excessive amounts and can seriously damage teeth and bones. Consult your dentist.

Scientists are working on the technique of introducing an infinitesimal amount of fluorine—one part to a million—into city drinking water supplies. Careful control is necessary in this method, since as little as 1.5 parts of fluorine to a million parts of water can cause an unpleasant-looking mottling of the enamel of the teeth. A few test towns, among them Newburgh, N. Y., have been adding fluorine to their water supplies for several years and the results are being carefully studied.

Preliminary results of these tests are encouraging, but it will be years before the merits and risks are fully known.

AN ACCIDENT. Like so many other boons to mankind, discovery of the beneficial effects of the chemical was by accident. For generations a condition known as "mottled teeth" was common in many parts of the U. S., but its cause was never traced. It was also known that tooth decay was rare in "mottled teeth" areas but the connection was not noted.

But in the '20's an outbreak of "mottled teeth" became troublesome in Bauxite, Ark., an Aluminum Co. of America company town. To protect itself from threatened legal action, the corporation ordered a chemical analysis of the town's drinking water, and fluorine was found as the cause of the "mottled teeth." With that as a start, researchers in other parts of the country went to work and the protective qualities of fluorine in proper amounts was discovered. That was 10 years ago and the benefits of the discovery have still to be made generally available.

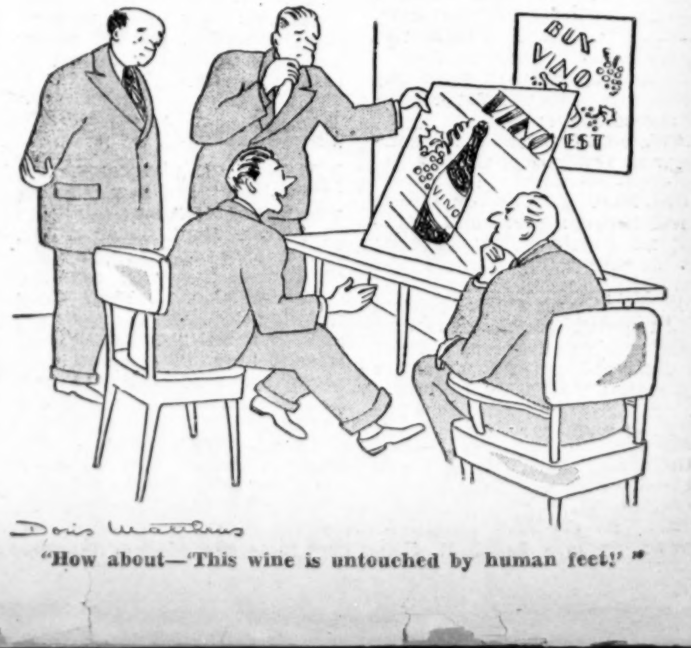
But if you are a wise parent, you will take your children to your dentist and ask for the fluorine treatment.

Good News On Diabetes

ALMOST three per cent of the U. S. population dies of diabetes. No cure is known for diabetes, but it can be checked by daily insulin injections. It is a metabolic disease in which the body cannot properly utilize carbohydrate foods. About a million Americans have it. Another million don't know they have it.

Now the U. S. Public Health Service wants to start the detective work on the million unsuspected cases with new, simple five-minute tests. These have been described by Dr. Priscilla White of Boston's Joslin Clinic at the Science Service meeting in Washington. A patented tablet reagent does the trick. A few drops of blood on the tablet turns it blue if the characteristic sugar of diabetes is present.

Dr. White's further remarks held possible good news for diabetes sufferers, of which the U. S. has more than any other nation. She described a new type of insulin injection which begins relief in two hours and lasts 28. It is never followed by "bizarre" reactions which sometimes follows present injections, particularly in young children. Said Dr. White, "There is some evidence that, if caught early enough, it would be possible to check and reverse the diabetic process. This can be done in animals because we know when it starts, but we don't know when it starts in human beings."



"How about—'This wine is untouched by human feet!' "

BETTER LIVING

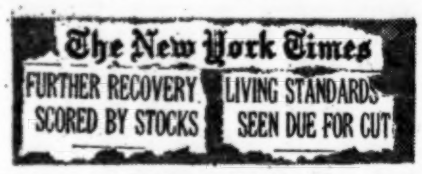
You're Paying For A New War Right Now

YOU probably don't want a war, but you are paying for one, and it's going to cost more next year than it did this year.

It's not just the taxes making up the $15,000,000,000 arms budget and the $5,000,000,000 Marshall Plan expenditures—it's the artificial shortages created by diverting consumer production to war materials, and the higher prices resulting from such shortages.

Some examples: zinc is up a half-cent a pound; carbon and alloy steels are up; aluminum went up twice this year; lead has gone up; scrap steel has gone from $19 a ton to $43 a ton; copper has risen from 12 cents in 1941 to 23½ cents a pound today; hot-rolled sheet steel and strip steel have gone up $15 a ton.

These increases in industrial costs have already cancelled out the few recent reductions in food and clothing prices.



The New York Times

FURTHER RECOVERY SCORED BY STOCKS

LIVING STANDARDS SEEN DUE FOR CUT

THE SMART BOYS. Now that the elections are over, smart businessmen are bidding more actively for military orders in the expectation that Army and Navy will slip into high gear. "Many manufacturers are proceeding on their own initiative" to reorganize for armaments business, says the **Journal of Commerce.** Already the arms program is taking 30 per cent of all steel plate, for example.

The immediate result for the consumer is fewer goods, higher prices.

The president of General Motors has predicted that auto shortages will last another two years. Other industry spokesmen think it will last longer. And prices will be higher on '49 models, with GM taking the lead in marking up the tags, according to present predictions.

Refrigerators and other large household appliances will be in short supply and will cost more next year.

MARCHING ORDERS. The expected boom in prefabricated steel houses will not materialize because steel has gone to war. The Lustron plant in Columbus, Ohio, that was going to produce 150 steel houses a day, has been able to produce only a few samples so far.

Storage battery prices have gone up from 8 to 10 per cent because lead is going into war materials. Plumbing goods have been lifted a straight 10 per cent for the same reason.

Scarcities in home fuel oil and gasoline for civilian cars are in the immediate offing: new jet-propelled war weapons require vast amounts of fuel and the National Security Resources Board is studying a proposal that civilian production be cut back to create military stockpiles.

Even television sets are going to war and some models are already hard to get, although this was supposed to be the year that television came of age.

ARMY BEANS. The armaments program is even blocking reductions in food prices: when soybeans and lard were about to tumble a few weeks ago, the Army bought heavily and the price decline stopped abruptly.

Now western European countries want to put 45 army divisions in the field and are talking about a $3,000,000,000 a year lend-lease program. These costs added to present budget allowances for arms will hit the consumer where it hurts most: higher taxes and strict curbs over civilian supplies, with war-time allocations and rationing a definite possibility.

'HOW RED WAS MY VALLEY'

Scenario by Alvah Bessie

SIXTEEN years ago I was gracefully starving to death in Vermont. How I got there is another story—but it involved one of those cyclical depressions that are the salt of our society. And the only work my wife and I could find was a position as domestics in the summer home of a wealthy architect.

That job ended, as they all do. We then started to pioneer a run-down farm, and from a distance of 250 miles I bombarded New York with literary efforts that were moderately unsuccessful.

In a moment of desperation (one of thousands) I recalled my old English professor at Columbia College. He was no longer a professor; he was a spectacularly best-selling novelist. I wrote asking for some suggestions from a man of his prominence and wealth—ideas designed to help me keep my wife and first son alive. A reply came—from his agent. It seems the good professor had suggested that I write an article entitled "Extenuations of Sudden Poverty." The agent said he knew he could sell the piece.

Now our poverty was not sudden and try as I would I could find no extenuations in it whatsoever. What would such a piece involve? We are poor but we are happy? (The hell we were). We have nothing, but we have each other? (It wasn't enough.) We are undernourished but you should see the scenery? Money isn't everything? I regretfully told the agent I could not do the piece.

And the very next pony express rider who came through the Green Mountains from New York State brought a hot letter from my old mentor, the following lines of which I quote with scientific precision: "I was trying to get you a chance. How **dare** you tell Mr. —— that there is **anything** you can not or will not write?"

DURING the 16 years since 1932, doggedly refusing to write "anything," I still managed to produce five translations, 26 published stories, three books and probably a thousand feature articles and critical reviews of books, plays and films—and five motion picture scripts.

These last came closer to being "anything" than anything I have ever written, and ironically enough they brought me to my present situation: sudden poverty for myself, wife and three children, no extenuations and the status of literary leper. Apparently it was because I had written for the screen that it was found necessary to purge me publicly. But this time I am not caught in the contradictions of a cyclical depression. This time I am hoist by a petard set off by a peculating real-estate broker from New Jersey, who asked me two questions I firmly believe are none of his damned business.

Nor am I alone; for there are at least nine other screen writers who also felt the questions J. Parnell Thomas asked were not exactly pertinent to the inquiry he was conducting a year ago, and who are also suffering sudden poverty with no extenuations.

From people who once gave me books to review, translations to make, articles to write, contracts for novels, I now get suspicious non-cooperation. Yet my old professor, to whom penury again turns my thoughts, is doing splendidly, I find. He is no longer a best-selling novelist, but he writes book reviews and articles for the Hearst press. His work radiates the sort of empty, pompous Americanism that must commend it to J. Parnell Thomas.

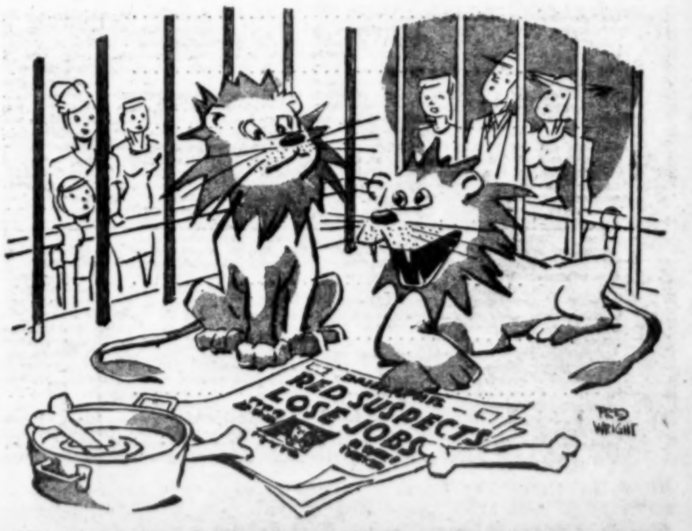
IT SEEMS he can write "anything." Examining my situation, I am bound to think seriously of the advice he gave me 16 years ago.

How shall I cleanse myself of my literary leprosy and win back the love of my banker? Should I write an article or book on "Extenuations of Being in Contempt of Congress," or "How to be Happy Though Indicted"?

No — those perhaps come later. For now, something more topical earning more immediate returns — something to warm up the cold war.

I am beginning on my confessions — serial rights first, then a book club choice for next spring. I am calling it "I Escaped from the Screen Writers Guild." Subtitle: "How Red Was My (San Fernando) Valley."

ALVAH BESSIE, Spanish Civil War veteran and author of "Bread and a Stone" and "Men in Battle," was one of the "Hollywood Ten" who refused to answer the Un-American Activities Committee's $64 question about Communist Party membership.



"That's progress for you! The Romans called 'em Christians and tossed them to us."

Lifelines

OIL AND FIREWATER. From Texas, where the American Automobile Assn. has been holding its 46th annual meeting, comes a plea that ten thousand or more gas stations in the country are selling motorists liquor on the side — and that this be prohibited. Even when the attendant is cold sober and gets the gasoline into the car and the rye into the driver, the mixture is likely to be unpleasant. Lou E. Holland, chairman of the AAA's Traffic Safety Committee, warns: "The evil genie that escapes from the bottle is claiming an appalling total of victims."

•

UP ANOTHER POLL. While the big-time election forecasters were gazing into their cracked crystals, the **Ladies Home Journal** ran a survey of American feeling that turned up some statistical curiosities. In the **Journal** poll 95 per cent of those interviewed said they believe in God but only 73 per cent said they believe in an afterlife. Questioned on whether "they loved their neighbors," 90 per cent said they did—even when the neighbor was of a different religion. When the neighbor was of a different 'race,' 80 per cent admitted that they felt a brotherly love. But only 27 per cent were capable of a similar love for followers of political parties "thought to be dangerous."

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ETAOIN SHRDLU, BUT QUICKER. In England they've come up with a photographic typesetting system. Negatives of various type faces are switched around automatically and photographed line by line. The resulting transparency is easily applied to regular lithographic and gravure printing processes. Sizes of type are controlled simply by altering the focus of the camera. All we need now is a quality of writing high enough to match new methods of printing it.

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STREAMLINED DANGER. With a blast at the auto manufacturers, Dr. Fletcher D. Woodward, writing in the **Journal** of the American Medical Assn., calls attention to the figure of 40,000 deaths a year from automobile accidents in the U. S. Although the figure has declined somewhat, these traffic fatalities still account for half as many deaths as pneumonia. Such vanity factors as motors capable of high speeds which are seldom needed and are never safe, and interiors designed for gadget-appeal rather than for safety, are responsible for most injuries, according to Dr. Woodward.

He points out that, while the manufacturers have borrowed useless streamlining from aircraft designers, they have ignored the safety features of plane design. "Automobiles should be redesigned to stress safety rather than speed and appearance," he concludes. "This suggestion has often been made, but has been religiously disregarded by automobile engineers and manufacturers."

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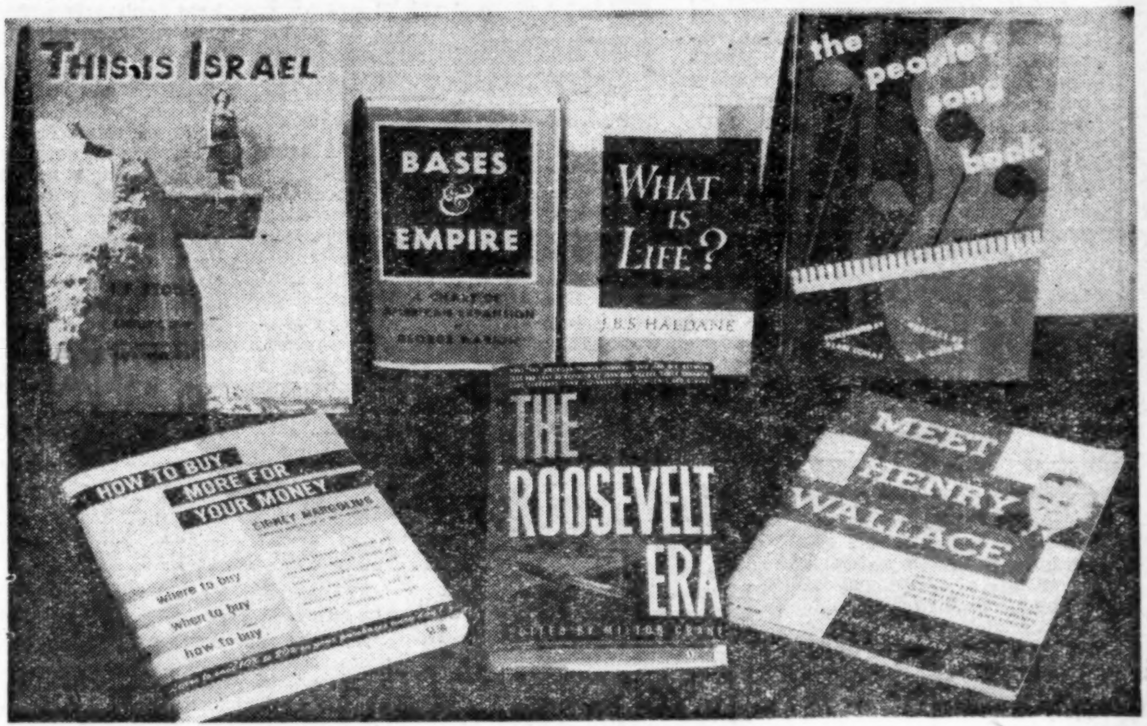

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